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Syntactic Variation

The study of Romance languages can tell us a great deal about sentence structure and its variation in general. Focusing on the dialects of Italy – including the islands of Sardinia and Sicily – the authors explore three thematic areas: the nominal domain, the verbal domain and the left periphery of the clause. The book gives fresh attention to the dialects, arguing that they offer an unprecedented degree of variation (not found, for example, in Germanic languages). Analysing a host of new data, the authors show how the dialects can be used as a test-bed for investigating and challenging received ideas about language structure and change.

Coherent and wide-ranging, this is a vital resource for those working in syntactic theory, historical linguistics and Romance languages.

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Syntactic Variation

The Dialects of Italy

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Linguistic abbreviations

A	subject of transitive clause
acc.	accusative
Adv _(circum. / quant. / sc.-set.)	(circumstantial / quantificational / scene-setting)
	adverb
Agr(O/S)(P)	(object/subject) Agreement (phrase)
an.	animate
AP	adjectival phrase
ASH	Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy
<i>ASIS</i>	<i>Atlante Sintattico dell'Italia Settentrionale</i>
Asp(P)	aspect (phrase)
ATop	aboutness topic
Aux	auxiliary (verb)
C(P)	complementizer (phrase)
CFoc(P)	contrastive focus (phrase)
Cho	<i>chômeur</i>
cl	clitic
CILD	clitic left-dislocation
coll.	colloquial
Comp	complementizer
Conc(P)	concessive force (phrase)
D(P)	determiner (phrase)
DAC	double auxiliary construction
dat.	dative
DATCL	dative clitic
DeclP	declarative force phrase
DO	direct object
E	perfective auxiliary ESSE(RE) 'be'
EPP	extended projection principle
ExclP	exclamative force phrase
f.	feminine
Fin(P)	finiteness (phrase)
Foc(P)	focus (phrase)

GB	government-binding (theory)
ger.	gerund
GR	grammatical relation
H	perfective auxiliary HABERE 'have'
HAF	Head Attraction Feature
HAS	higher adverb space
HMC	Head Movement Constraint
HR	headless relatives
HT	hanging topic
hum.	human
Hyp(P)	hypothetical force (projection)
I(nfl)	(verbal) Inflection(al head)
IFoc(P)	information focus (phrase)
imp.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
Indef-Q	indefinite quantifier
indic.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
int.	interrogative
IntP	interrogative phrase
IO	indirect object
IP	inflectional phrase
LAS	lower adverb space
LF	logical form
LHM	Long Head Movement
Loc	locative
m.	masculine
NC	negative concord
neg.	negator
Neg(P)	Negation (Phrase)
NID	northern Italian dialect
nom.	nominative
n(P)	light noun (phrase)
NP	noun phrase
NSLs	null-subject languages
O	old
Ø	null element
Obj	object
OT	Optimality Theory
<i>OVI</i>	Opera del Vocabulario Italiano
P(P)	preposition(al phrase)

part.	partitive
perf.	perfective
PF	phonological form
φ(P)	phi-feature (phrase)
pl.	plural
pres.	present
PRO	null anaphoric pronominal
pro	phonetically null pronominal
prog.	progressive aspect (marker)
PS	phrase structure
PtP(P)	past participle (phrase)
Q	question/interrogative feature
refl.	reflexive
S _A	subject of a transitive/unergative clause
S _O	subject of an unaccusative clause
scl	subject clitic
sg.	singular
Sp.	speaker
Spec	specifier (position)
SSC	specified subject condition
subj.	subjunctive
SubjP	subject (of predication) phrase
T(P)	tense (phrase)
TF	Triestino fronting
Top(P)	topic (phrase)
TNI	true negative imperative
UG	Universal Grammar
ν(P)	light verb (phrase)
V	vowel
V(P)	verb (phrase)
V2	verb second (word order)
1 / 2 / 3	1st / 2nd / 3rd person
?(?)	(very) degraded in grammaticality
*	ungrammatical
%	grammatical/missible only in certain varieties
=	cliticized to

Language, dialect and province abbreviations

Abr.	Abruzzese
AG	province of Agrigento
Amp.	Ampezzano
AN	province of Ancona
AP	province of Ascoli Piceno
AQ	province of L'Aquila
Aret.	Aretino
AV	province of Avellino
BA	province of Bari
Bell.	Bellunese
BG	province of Bergamo
BL	province of Belluno
BO	province of Bologna
Bol.	Bolognese
BR	province of Brindisi
BS	province of Brescia
BZ	province of Bolzano
Cal.	Calabrian
Cat.	Catalan
Catanz.	Catanzarese
CB	province of Campobasso
CE	province of Caserta
CH	province of Chieti
CL	province of Caltanissetta
CN	province of Cuneo
CO	province of Como
Cos.	Cosentino
CS	province of Cosenza
Emil.	Emilian
En.	Ennese
EN	province of Enna
Eng.	English
Fas.	Fassano

FC	province of Forlì-Cesena
FE	province of Ferrara
FG	province of Foggia
Flo.	Florentine
FR	province of Frosinone
Fr.	French
Friul.	Friulian
GE	province of Genoa
Gri.	Grizzanese
Hu.	Hungarian
Ic.	Icelandic
IS	province of Isernia
It.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
Laz.	Laziale
LE	province of Lecce
Lig.	Ligurian
Lomb.	Lombard
LT	province of Latina
ME	province of Messina
MI	province of Milan
Mil.	Milanese
MN	province of Mantua
MT	province of Matera
NA	province of Naples
Nap.	Neapolitan
NID(s)	northern Italian dialect(s)
NO	province of Novara
Occ.	Occitan
OR	province of Oristano
PA	province of Palermo
Pad.	Paduan
Pal.	Palermitano
PE	province of Pescara
Per.	Perginese
PG	province of Perugia
Pied.	Piedmontese
Pis.	Pisan
PR	province of Parma
PZ	province of Potenza
Rag.	Ragusano

RC	province of Reggio di Calabria
RE	province of Reggio Emilia
Reg.	Reggino
RG	province of Ragusa
RO	province of Rovigo
Ro.	Romanian
Rom.	Romagnolo
SA	province of Salerno
Sal.	Salentino
Sar.	Sardinian
Sic.	Sicilian
SO	province of Sondrio
SP	province of La Spezia
Sp.	Spanish
SS	province of Sassari
SV	province of Savona
Sw.	Swedish
TA	province of Taranto
Tar.	Tarantino
TE	province of Teramo
TN	province of Trento
TO	province of Turin
TP	province of Trapani
Trap.	Trapanese
Tren.	Trentino
Tries.	Triestino
Tusc.	Tuscan
Umb.	Umbrian
UD	province of Udine
VC	province of Vercelli
VE	province of Venice
Ven.	Venetian

Syntactic variation and the dialects of Italy: an overview

Roberta D'Alessandro, Adam Ledgeway and Ian Roberts

1. Introduction

This collection of articles is a spin-off from the first Cambridge Italian Dialect Syntax Meeting (CIDS), held at Downing College, University of Cambridge, 22–3 April 2005. This now-annual event and the present volume it spawned bear witness to the fact that, over recent decades, researchers working on the syntax of the dialects of Italy have figured heavily in much of the generative literature, coming to assume a central role in setting and shaping the research agenda through their investigations of such topics as auxiliary selection, subject and object clitics, negation, *wh*-movement and the functional architecture of the clause. One need only think of the pioneering work of such linguists as Paola Benincà, Anna Cardinaletti, Richard Kayne, Michele Loporcaro, Rita Manzini, Nicola Munaro, Cecilia Poletto, Leonardo Savoia, Nigel Vincent and Raffaella Zanuttini, to name just a few, who have shown how the dialects offer fertile, and often virgin, territory in which to profitably study, among other things, parametric variation. While neighbouring dialects tend to be closely related to each other, manifestly displaying in most cases a high degree of structural homogeneity, they do nonetheless often diverge minimally in significant and interesting ways which allow the linguist to isolate and observe what lies behind surface differences in particular parametric settings across a range of otherwise highly homogenized grammars. By drawing on such microvariation, it is possible to determine which phenomena are correlated with particular parametric options and how such relationships are mapped onto the syntax.

Furthermore, many of the dialects boast rich and long literary traditions (dating back as far as the late tenth century) which, coupled with an abundance of diachronic and synchronic variation, offer the historical linguist a rare opportunity to explore the structural evolution of a vast number of lesser-known Romance varieties. The historical evidence of the dialects has therefore often been subject to in-depth study in recent years (cf. research by, among others, Benincà, Cennamo, La Fauci, Loporcaro, Parry, Vanelli, Vincent),

insofar as it affords the historical linguist an invaluable body of data to investigate many of the mechanisms involved in language change.

Besides their role in shaping and informing theories of generative syntax and language change, it is also widely recognized that, with such a profusion of variation concentrated into so limited a geographical area, the dialects constitute a remarkable observatory for synchronic and diachronic variation in all aspects of linguistic structure. As such, the dialects have a valuable role to play in investigating and testing typological variation, frequently revealing how the extent of structural variation within Romance, and indeed even within Indo-European and further afield, can prove to be considerably greater than is traditionally assumed.

From the above, it is therefore clear that Italy's unique *patrimonio dialettale*, although frequently overlooked in the past, has a great deal to contribute to research into such areas as linguistic theory, historical linguistics and typological variation. Nonetheless, the syntax of the dialects still represents a relatively poorly understood area of Italian dialectology, to the extent that there still remains a considerable amount of fieldwork to be done in recording and cataloguing the linguistic diversity within the Italian territory, as well as in bringing such facts to the attention of the wider linguistic community as part of a more general endeavour to bridge the gap between the familiar data of standard Romance and those of lesser-known Romance varieties. With this in mind, the present volume offers a number of valuable insights into the syntax of the dialects, including those of the South, which historically have tended to be eclipsed by the dialects of the North (cf. Ledgeway 2007a), highlighting how the dialect data present the linguist with a fertile test-bed in which to investigate, challenge and assess orthodox ideas in the literature about language structure, language change and language variation.

In particular, the book brings together a rich and varied collection of essays on a number of topics in Italian dialect syntax written by leading researchers in the field of Italian dialectology and, in many cases, also in the field of syntactic theory. The seventeen essays, which fall into three thematic areas of the nominal domain, the verbal domain and the left periphery of the clause, present data from the dialects of northern, central and southern Italy, as well as the islands (Sardinia, Sicily), that directly bear on a range of diachronic and synchronic issues and problems. While admittedly the individual approaches to the three thematic areas often embrace a number of quite different perspectives, ranging from the purely descriptive to the more formal (including enlightening analyses of novel dialectal data in terms of such frameworks as Minimalism, Optimality Theory, Cartography and Relational Grammar), this variety of approaches duly reflects the extraordinary breadth and diversity of interests that issues in Italian dialectology hold for the wider linguistic community. It is thus our firm conviction that such eclecticism should not be viewed as a weakness of the present

volume, but rather as a strength, insofar as it illustrates how clear and systematic descriptions of the dialect data can consistently be exploited to yield and test empirically robust generalizations, as well as profitably inform and challenge a rich and diverse set of theoretical assumptions.

By way of an introduction to the volume, we sketch below a general overview of the state of the art in Italian dialect syntax according to the three thematic areas identified above, outlining the principal aspects of diatopic, diachronic and typological variation, as well as a critical assessment of the role of Italian dialect data in informing and shaping recent developments in linguistic theory.

2. The pronominal domain: DP-NP structure, clitics and null subjects

2.1. Introduction

Here I will concentrate on clitic pronouns in particular, as well as the silent pronoun that has been proposed as central to the analysis of null subjects. I will not discuss nominalizations or complex nominals. Throughout, I adopt the DP-hypothesis, and briefly speculate on the internal phasal structure of DP.

The study of clitic pronouns in generative grammar takes its lead from Kayne's (1972; 1975) work on French. Kayne (1975) analysed the 'special' positioning of French complement clitics (in the sense of Zwicky 1977) and proposed a movement account of this which had the important property of obeying the Specified Subject Condition (SSC), one of the conditions on transformations proposed in Chomsky (1973). Thus, clitic-movement cannot move across the null PRO subject of the subordinate clause in such examples as (1):¹

- 1 a *Paul la veut [PRO manger (la)]
 Paul it= wants eat.inf. it
 'Paul wants to eat it'
- b *Paul l' a décidé d' [PRO acheter (l')]
 Paul it= has decided of buy.inf. it
 'Paul has decided to buy it'

Rizzi (1976; 1978)² observed that Italian complement clitics differ from their French counterparts in not obeying the SSC when contained in the complement of a lexically defined class of verbs. This class of verbs includes *volere* 'to

¹ In this respect, northern Italian dialects behave like French (Benincà 1994c: 130–5; Poletto 1997: 142):

i Koñéde ve régler
 you-must youselves= dress.inf.
 'You must get dressed' (Fas., Benincà 1994c: 134)

² The latter republished as Rizzi (1982: ch. 1) and Rizzi (2000a).

want', but excludes *decidere* 'to decide'; hence Italian shows the contrast in (2), while, as (1) shows, French does not distinguish these examples:

- 2 a Paolo la vuole mangiare
Paul it= wants eat.inf.
b *Paolo l' ha deciso di comprare
Paul it= has decided of buy.inf.

Rizzi proposed a 'restructuring rule' for the infinitival complements of verbs of the *volere* class, which effectively voided the effects of the SSC in just these cases.

Kayne (1972) analysed French subject clitic pronouns as part of his general analysis of the various subject-inversion phenomena found in French: subject-clitic inversion, complex inversion and stylistic inversion. The three types of inversion are illustrated in (3):

- 3 a Quand est-il arrivé? (subject-clitic inversion)
when is=he arrived
'When did he arrive?'
b Quand ton père est-il arrivé? (complex inversion)
when your father is=he arrived
'When did your father arrive?'
c Quand est arrivé ton père? (stylistic inversion)
when is arrived your father
'When did your father arrive?'

Kayne distinguished these types of inversion on a number of grounds. For example, stylistic inversion can apply in indirect questions, while subject-clitic and complex inversion cannot, and stylistic inversion cannot occur in yes/no-questions (direct or indirect), while subject-clitic and complex inversion can. Most importantly, stylistic inversion cannot affect clitics, but subject-clitic inversion and complex inversion must:

- 4 a *Quand est arrivé-t-il?
when is arrived=he
b *Quand est ton père arrivé?
when is your father arrived

Standard Italian lacks a series of atonic subject pronouns comparable to the French *je*-series. Correspondingly, Italian appears to lack an obvious counterpart to subject-clitic inversion and complex inversion. Both subject clitics and subject-clitic inversion (and, much more rarely, complex inversion) are attested in northern Italian dialects, though, as we shall see in §2.3.

However, Standard Italian (and, as far as we are aware, all central and southern Italo-Romance dialects) allows a finite sentence with no surface subject present to be interpreted as if it has a definite pronominal subject, unlike French:

- 5 a Je mange la pomme
I= eat the apple
- b Mangio la mela
I-eat the apple

(5b) illustrates what has become known as the ‘null-subject’ property of Standard Italian. There is a long-standing intuition that languages like Italian mark the pronominal subject ‘in the verb’, namely by the person-number agreement inflection on a finite verb. In this connection, Roberts and Holmberg (in press) quote Jespersen (1924: 213):

In many languages the distinction between the three persons is found not only in pronouns, but in verbs as well ... in Latin ... Italian, Hebrew, Finnish, etc. In such languages many sentences have no explicit indication of the subject, and *ego amo, tu amas* is at first said only when it is necessary or desirable to lay special stress on the idea I, thou.

The idea here is that, since a pronominal subject can be expressed ‘in the verb’ in such languages as Italian, there is no general requirement to pronounce the subject separately as a nominative pronoun. Languages like French, and English, on the other hand, lack the inflectional means to express the subject ‘in the verb’, and so subject pronouns must appear in the relevant environments. There is a sense, then, in which the Italian counterpart of French *je* in (5a) is the ending *-o*. This notion persists in the many recent analyses of null subjects.³ Northern Italian dialects, many of which appear to exhibit some ‘null-subject’ phenomena while requiring the presence of subject clitics in many contexts as well, clearly present an interesting challenge to this view (see §2.3 below, and Cardinaletti and Repetti this volume).

Perlmutter (1971) linked the possibility of null subjects to another important syntactic property, the possibility of moving a subject from a position immediately following an overt complementizer by means of an operation such as *wh*-movement:

- 6 a *Who did you say that – wrote this book?
- b *Qui as-tu dit qu’ – a écrit ce livre?
- c Chi hai detto che – ha scritto questo libro?
who have.2sg.(=you) said that – has written this book

In null-subject languages, as Perlmutter observed, it appears that ‘complementizer-trace effects’ of the kind shown in (6a–b) are not found.

³ See, among others, Fassi Fehri (1993), Barbosa (1995; in press), Nash and Rouveret (1997), Ordoñez (1997), Pollock (1997), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), Platzack (2004), Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007), Holmberg (in press).

Rizzi (1982: ch. 4) relates this to the much greater availability of postverbal subjects in declaratives in null-subject languages:

- 7 a Hanno telefonato molti studenti
 b *Ont téléphoné beaucoup d' étudiants
 have telephoned many (of) students
 'Many students have telephoned'

Once again, evidence from northern Italian dialects has proven essential to the theoretical and typological debate here.

The early work of Kayne, Perlmutter and Rizzi on clitics and null subjects was extremely influential, both in comparative Romance syntax and in syntactic theory more generally. Accordingly, I will concentrate my discussion on these topics here. In §2.2 I discuss complement clitics; in §2.3 I turn to subject clitics and the null-subject parameter. Finally, in §2.4 I will consider the relation between the 'microparametric' approach to comparative syntax that naturally lends itself to the analysis of closely related systems such as the Italian dialects, and the 'macroparametric' approach that, arguably, was the earlier approach in principles-and-parameters theory (and is well exemplified by Rizzi 1982), and whose validity has recently been defended by Baker (2008a, b). Drawing on proposals sketched in Roberts and Holmberg (in press), I will suggest a link between the two.

2.2. *Complement clitics*

The principal motivation for a movement analysis of the position of clitic pronouns in most Romance varieties comes from paradigms like the following from Neapolitan:

- 8 a Giuanne faceva 'a pizza
 Giuanne was-making the pizza
 'Giuanne was making the pizza'
 b Giuanne 'a faceva
 Giuanne it= was-making
 'Giuanne was making it'
 c *Giuanne 'a pizza faceva
 Giuanne the pizza was-making
 d *Giuanne faceva 'a
 Giuanne was-making it

(8a) illustrates the VO order, the usual neutral order in all contemporary Romance varieties where the object is a non-pronominal DP. In (8b), however, we observe that a clitic object must move to an immediately preverbal position. The ungrammaticality of (8c) shows us that comparable movement

of a non-pronominal DP is impossible, and (8d) shows that non-movement of the clitic is impossible.

However, examples such as (9) show us that clitics are sensitive to the argument structure of the verb. An intransitive like Neapolitan *rurmì* 'to sleep' cannot take a direct object. Hence, as (9a) shows, it cannot take a non-pronominal object, and, as (9b) shows, it cannot take a clitic object:

- 9 a *Giuanne *rurmiva* 'a notte
 Giuanne was-sleeping the night
- b *Giuanne 'a *rurmiva*
 Giuanne it= was-sleeping

There is a clear sense in which (9a–b) reflect a single property of *rurmì*: namely, that it cannot take a direct object. The simplest way to capture this is to posit that 'a and 'a notte both originate in the same structural direct-object position in (9). This position is not sanctioned by *rurmì*,⁴ but is by a transitive verb like *fà* 'to do' in (8); hence the grammaticality, *modulo* clitic-movement, of (8) as opposed to (9). Let us suppose, then, that there is a stage of the derivation where the order of (8b) is like that in (8d). The clitic-placement rule moves the complement pronoun to the immediate left of the verb. This operation also applies to other kinds of complement, as shown in (10), taken from Neapolitan:

- 10 a Piero m' ha rato €5
 Piero me= has given €5
 'Piero gave me €5'
- b Piero ce ha miso 'o libro
 Piero there= has put the book
 'Piero put the book there'

Further support for the idea that clitic placement is a genuine movement operation comes from the fact that it is subject to conditions on movement, such as the SSC, as illustrated in (1) and (2) above.⁵

Let us now review some of the other properties of (Italo-)Romance complement clitics. First, complement clitics strongly tend to be attracted to the verb. In finite clauses, they are typically attracted to the left of the verb, while there is

⁴ This idea can be expressed in a variety of partially redundant ways: by s-selection, c-selection, subcategorization or θ -role-assignment. I will leave the details aside here. Note, however, that I am assuming that grammatical functions are structurally instantiated, in fact structurally defined; see Chomsky (1965: ch. 2; 1981: 10).

⁵ In recent versions of generative theory, the SSC is superseded by a condition requiring movement, and other relations, to be maximally local. In examples like (1), the lower clause will always contain a target for the object-clitic movement which is closer to the initial position of the object than any target in the higher clause, and hence the locality condition requires the clitic to stay in the lower clause. 'Clitic-climbing', as in the Italian (2a), requires the assumption that the lower target is missing and that there is a higher one in the main clause.

much more variation in placement in non-finite clauses (in Standard Italian and Spanish, for example, enclisis is usual in non-finite clauses). There are Italian dialects, however, in which complement clitics can appear to the right of the verb, separated from it by a low adverb. Tortora (2002; this volume) gives such examples as the following from Borgomanerese (NO):⁶

- 11 a I porti mi- lla
 scl I-bring neg. =it
 'I'm not bringing it'
- b I vangumma già- nni da dū agni
 scl we-see already =us from two years
 'We've already been seeing each other for two years'

In Standard Italian, French and Spanish, clitics cannot be separated from the verb except by another clitic:

- 12 a *Gianni la, penso, mangia.
 Gianni it= I-think eats
- b Gianni gliela dà
 Gianni him=it= gives
 'Gianni gives it to him'

Clearly this is not the case in the Piedmontese variety shown in (11). Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) also show that this is not the case in Cosentino, where orders such as the following are found:

- 13 a Un vi mancu parranu
 not you= not-even they-speak
 'In any case they won't speak to you'
- b Rosina purtroppu ci sempre fatica
 Rosina unfortunately to-it= always works
 'Rosina is unfortunately always working on it'

In nearly all Romance varieties, clitics cluster in a fixed order, which varies somewhat cross-linguistically:

- 14 a *Jean lui l' a donné
 John him=it= has given
- b Gianni gliel' ha dato
 John him=it= has given
 'John has given it to him'

⁶ European Portuguese and Galician allow for enclisis of complement clitics to finite verbs under complex conditions relating to the nature of the initial (topicalized) constituent. This appears to be a phenomenon distinct from the Piedmontese one illustrated in the text.

- 15 a Ils me le donnent
 they me= it =give
- b Me lo danno
 me= it= they-give
- c U mi ðanu
 it= me= they-give
 ‘They give it to me’

(S. Nicolao (Corsica), Manzini and Savoia 2005, II:172)

Furthermore, clitic pronouns tend to be marked (to some extent at least) for morphological case, at least in the 3rd person. Hence in Standard Italian, we can distinguish the (historically) dative 3sg. clitic *gli* from the (historically) accusative *lo*, for example, and similarly in French, Spanish and many dialects (e.g. Calvello (PZ) dative *l’* vs accusative *lu*). Whether this historical residue of the case system has any synchronic significance, however, is hard to say.

Finally, Romance clitics are subject to a number of constraints, most of them first pointed out for French by Kayne (1975: 81f.). Complement clitics cannot be conjoined or appear in isolation in elliptical contexts:

- 16 a *Gianni lo e la vedrà
 Gianni him and her will-see
- b Chi hai visto? *Lo
 who you-have seen him

Clitics also lack word stress, although they can bear phrasal stress, as in many southern Italian imperative forms such as Papisidero (CS) *mangiatillu!* eat.imp. =yourself=it (‘eat it!’).

In contrast, tonic or disjunctive pronouns in most Romance varieties have many of the properties clitics seem to lack. Firstly, they do not undergo clitic-placement:

- 16 c Gianni ha visto lei
 John has seen her

(Note also that the clitic must have an animate interpretation here; *lei* cannot pick out a grammatically feminine inanimate referent such as ‘pizza’ or ‘car’; see Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) for an interesting discussion and analysis of this.) These forms also appear in isolation:

- 17 Chi hai visto? Lui
 who you-have seen him
 ‘Who did you see?’ ‘Him’

These forms are typically reflexes of historically dative forms, but their form does not change as a result of their position or grammatical function; in other words, they do not inflect for case.

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) propose a tripartite division of pronouns into strong, weak and clitic. The division boils down to a structural distinction between a 'full' category – strong pronouns – and then two degrees of 'structural deficiency', with weak pronouns lacking the highest layer of structure and clitics a further layer. Cardinaletti and Starke treat strong pronouns as full DPs and clitics as the nominal equivalent of the IP. One way to think of this, in terms of Chomsky's recent proposals regarding phases, is to take the nominal to have at least the following structure:

- 18 $[_{DP} D [_{\phi P} \phi [_{nP} n [_{NP} N \dots]]]]$

This parallels the simplest version of clause structure, as assumed in Chomsky (2000; 2001) and elsewhere:

- 19 $[_{CP} C [_{TP} T [_{VP} v [_{VP} V \dots]]]]$

Both structures divide into two phases (the basic unit of cyclic derivation; see Chomsky 2001; 2008): a 'lexical' phase nP/vP , and an 'inflectional' phase CP/DP . The n/v head controls the realization of the lexical argument structure of the lexical head (which may have no intrinsic category; Marantz 1997), while D/C controls the interaction between the whole category and external forces (case, agreement, selection properties, along with discourse (speech act, definiteness) properties).⁷ Returning to clitics, we can think that some pronominals lack the 'lexical phase' and so have the structure $[_{DP} D [_{\phi P} \phi]]$; this may be the case for weak pronouns, for example. Clitics, following Cardinaletti and Starke, may then lack the D -layer, being simply ϕ -elements. This and similar ideas are developed by Déchaïne and Wiltschko (2002), Harley and Ritter (2002) and Roberts (to appear). Although the details differ, there is some consensus on the fact that clitics are structurally or featurally deficient; in different ways, this idea is pursued in the present volume by Manzini and Savoia, Savoia and Manzini, Egerland (for the diachrony of indefinite pronouns), and Cardinaletti and Repetti.

If clitic-placement is movement, what kind of movement is it? A number of analytical possibilities are made available in current and recent syntactic theory. Since clitics are deficient in structure, a natural suggestion is that

⁷ Of course, the familiar tension arises between the adoption of simplified structures like those in (18) and (19) and the evidence from cartographical work on both DP and CP for considerably more complex structures (see in particular §4 of this Introduction for an indication of the nature of the full, cartographic structure of CP). What we may need to allow for is iteration of each part of the structure in (18)–(19), forming a 'field' of the abstract form $\dots [X [X [X [X \dots (X \in \{C, T, v, D, \phi, n\})]]]]$. This is the cartographic structure without the addition of specific labels individuating and ordering the functional heads in each field. This idea is similar, but not identical, to Chomsky's (2006) speculation that the cartographic structure represents 'the linearization of features of phase heads' (of course, what remains completely unclear is why the linearization is as it is, i.e. why the heads are ordered as they are).

clitic-movement is head-movement. This approach was influentially developed for the analysis of clitic-climbing by Kayne (1989b). The basic difficulty with it, if no further assumptions are made, comes from the fact that head-movement is usually thought to be subject to the Head Movement Constraint (HMC), which requires head-movement to target the closest c-commanding head.⁸ Assuming that in a typical example like (8b) *'a* is merged as the sister of V in VP, then V is the closest head. Leaving aside the question of what might trigger such a movement (only functional heads are thought to trigger movement in most versions of contemporary theory), clitic-climbing as in (2a), as well as clitic-movement to the auxiliary in a compound tense as in (10), appear to fall foul of the HMC. One possibility is to relativize, or simply abandon, the HMC, at least with reference to clitics (see Roberts (1994) on the former; and Roberts (to appear) on the latter). If this can be done in a principled way, and a satisfactory account of the trigger for clitic-movement developed, then this approach may be viable.

Chomsky (2001: 37–8) suggests that head-movement is not part of narrow syntax, but perhaps part of the morphological component. If so, we might see clitic-movement as morphological or phonological movement. Since clitics are phonologically defective, we could try to relate the obligatory movement to their defectivity. This, however, is very difficult to achieve in practice. French, for example, has a radically different prosodic system from the rest of Romance, and yet its complement clitics are not dramatically different in their behaviour from those of Italian or Spanish. On the other hand, European Portuguese and Galician have a very different clitic system from most of the rest of Romance, including Spanish, and yet are prosodically quite similar. Similarly, ‘repair’ strategies that are sometimes invoked in the analysis of Scandinavian object shift, for example, have no obvious role to play in relation to Romance clitics, in that clitics disrupt the usual ‘shape’ of the Romance clause. If clitic-placement is head-movement, then it is likely to be syntactic head-movement.

It has been suggested that clitic placement is a kind of A-movement, or that part of the derivation of clitics involves A-movement. One reason for this is that in normative French, Standard Italian and many Italian dialects, clitic-placement triggers past participle agreement (see also Loporcaro this volume):

- 20 a La table, je l' ai repeinte
the table.f.sg. I it= have repainted.f.sg.
'The table, I've repainted (it)'
- b la pastə l aʝə kottə/*kwett
the.f.sg. pasta.f. it= I-have cooked.f./cooked.m.
'The pasta, I cooked (it)'

(Altamura, BA, Loporcaro, this volume)

⁸ This can be seen as a version of the general locality condition alluded to in note 5 above.

According to Kayne's (1989a) analysis of past participle agreement, something must transit through a specifier position associated with the participle in order for movement to be triggered. This position must be an A-position, since DP-movement in passives and unaccusatives triggers participle agreement, and the ultimate landing site of the DPs in these cases is the subject position, an A-position. Given the impossibility of 'improper movement' (A-to-A'-to-A movement), then movement to the participle agreement position must be A-movement; this conclusion can generalize to (this step of) clitic-movement.⁹ A further reason to think that clitic-movement is A-movement comes from the highly local nature of participle agreement, as pointed out by Rizzi (2000b):

- 21 La table que tu as dit(*e) que tu as repeinte.
the table that you have said(f.sg.) that you have repainted-f.sg.

Agreement on the lower participle under *wh*-movement in French is allowed, normatively preferred, but agreement on the participle in the main clause is strongly ungrammatical. Rizzi accounts for this by assuming that the first step of movement, to the participial specifier, is A-movement. Further A-movement directly to the higher participial specifier is impossible, as there is a closer intervening A-position, the subject position of the lower clause (this is the locality condition of note 5 again). Movement to the higher participial specifier via the lower SpecCP would be improper movement, since SpecCP is an A'-position. Hence agreement on the upper participle is impossible. A crucial step is that movement to a participial specifier must be A-movement; if this were A'-movement, there should be no ban on agreement 'all the way up' on higher participles.

The problem with taking clitic-movement to be A-movement is that this is hard to integrate with the approach to A-movement developed in Chomsky (2000; 2001). There, Chomsky proposes that movement is the combination of three operations: merge, Agree and pied-piping. Agree is a relation between two heads A and B in a local domain (determined by the locality principle in note 5), such that A asymmetrically c-commands B, and each has an unvalued feature which renders it 'active'. In this situation, A is referred as the Probe and B as the Goal. Finite T, for example, asymmetrically c-commands the subject in SpecvP, and has unvalued person and number features, making it an active Probe. The subject has valued person and number features, but an unvalued Case feature, making it an active Goal. Hence T and the subject Agree, and T's features are valued, as well as the subject's Case feature. Movement, construed as second merge (roughly 're-insertion') of the subject in SpecTP, will now take place as

⁹ The alternative analysis of past participle agreement put forward in D'Alessandro and Roberts (2008) and summarized in §3.3.1 below does not necessarily lead us to the same conclusions.

long as T has an EPP feature. The pied-piping condition is necessary in order to obtain DP-, rather than D-, movement.

This system provides an interesting analysis of A-movement, but one that does not extend to clitic-movement. The difficulty lies in providing a principled distinction between clitics and other DPs. Suppose we take it that clitic-placement in compound tenses at least involves A-movement to the participial specifier followed by a local, perhaps PF, step of head-movement to the finite auxiliary. There is no real problem in postulating some kind of ϕ -feature agreement between the participle and the direct object (except, as pointed out by D'Alessandro and Roberts (2008), we then have to explain why participle agreement does not appear on *in situ* direct objects in (contemporary) Standard Italian). But, in order to trigger A-movement of the clitic, something more is needed. It is very difficult to find a principled way, in terms of A-movement, to distinguish a trigger for clitic-placement from a trigger for general DP-movement. In other words, the A-movement approach seems to fail to capture the very core of clitic-placement, i.e. the fact that this kind of movement is restricted to clitics.

It is unlikely that clitic-movement is a form of *wh*-movement, or A'-movement. In general, *wh*-movement gives the appearance of unboundedness, in particular in that movement over subjects is readily allowed (*Who did you say John saw?*). Moreover, A'-movement licenses parasitic gaps, which Romance clitic-placement does not:

- 22 ?*(Chissu giornale), Gianni l' a gghjettatu senza leja
 this newspaper John it= has thrown without read.inf.
 'This newspaper, Gianni threw it away without reading (it)' (Cos.)

Of course, it is always possible that clitics do not move at all. One important reason to take the 'base-generation' alternative seriously is the existence of clitic-doubling. Clitic-doubling is found, in Romance, with direct objects in Rioplatense Spanish (Jaeggli 1982), in Romanian and in various central-southern Italian dialects (including notably Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2000: 37–8; 2009: §8.3.2.5), Corsican, Sardinian, Rhaeto-Romance and Romagnolo):

- 23 a La oían a Paca/ a la niña/ a la gata
 her= they-listened A Paca/ A the girl/ A the cat
 'They listened to Paca/the girl/the cat' (Rioplatense Sp.)
 b T' a pagat' a tté
 you= he-has paid to you
 'He paid you' (Lanciano, CH)

It is also found with indirect objects in all dialects of Spanish and is obligatory in most northern Italian dialects (Poletto 1997: 141). Indeed, Manzini and Savoia (2005, II: 518) show that this is extremely widespread in all Italian dialects (see also Ledgeway (2009: 353f.) on Neapolitan):

- 24 Ge lo dago a Toni
 to-him= it= I-give to Toni
 'I give it to Toni' (Venetan)

There are two options for analysing object-clitic doubling. On the one hand, we could treat the doubling clitics as a morphological realization of 'object agreement' (more technically, they probe v 's ϕ -set). In that case, the object DP in object position would be a null argument, where the clitic is not doubled; this is in essence proposed by Borer (1984) and Jaeggli (1982).

The problem with the Borer–Jaeggli approach is that it cannot deal with two very well-known aspects of object-clitic doubling: Kayne's generalization and specificity effects. Kayne's generalization, as formulated in Jaeggli (1982: 20), states that an object DP may be doubled by a clitic only if that DP is preceded by a preposition. As the examples in (23a–b) and (24) show, there is a preposition available here. Manzini and Savoia (2005, II: 525f.) show that a range of prepositions appear in the Italian dialects which permit object-clitic doubling. The specificity effects appear to be related to the presence of the preposition: both Spanish *a* and Rumanian *pe* show sensitivity to the semantic properties of direct objects they co-occur with, in that both show a strong preference for animate/human, definite, specific arguments; again, the Italian dialects show a similar pattern (I take Jaeggli's (1982: 45f.) view that various quantified direct objects, including *wh*-phrases, cannot be doubled, to fall under this observation). Again, the same general tendencies are observed in the Italian dialects with doubling, although Ledgeway (2009: 356–7) gives examples of object-clitic doubling with indefinite and negatively quantified objects:

- 25 Quacche cosa 'o bbuò vedé?
 some thing it= he-wants see.inf.
 'What does he want to see?' (Nap.)

As an alternative to the non-movement analysis, Uriagereka (1995) proposes that clitic-doubling derives from a complex DP of the following kind:¹⁰

¹⁰ Roberts (to appear) assumes that the double in fact constitutes (part of) the lexical phase in a DP structure like that in (18). Leaving the status of *a* aside for a moment, it is tempting to think that the noun *Paca* in an example like (23a) raises in order to be licensed as a referential phrase along the general lines described in Longobardi (1994). This idea cannot be maintained in its simplest form, however, since, as can easily be seen in (23a), full DPs can be doubled. Roberts suggests that the double corresponds to the NP root part of the phase (presumably with N-to-n raising). After N-to-n raising, nP raises to Spec ϕ P. Both ϕ and D are occupied by a feature-bundle realized as *la* (3sg.f.), with *la_D* also bearing a definiteness feature. We thus have a partial structure for the clitic-doubling DP of the following form (still leaving aside *a*):

i [DP [D *la*] [ϕ P [_{NP} *niña*] [ϕ *la*] (nP)]]

So clitic-doubling quite literally involves doubling of the formative *la*, with one occurring in D and one in ϕ (although the two have a different feature composition: *la_D* has a D-feature in

26 [DP [a la niña] [D' [D la] [NP pro]]]

Taking *a* to be, as Kayne and Jaeggli supposed, just a Case-assigner, we take it to form either a PP or a KP. In this way, *a*, by Case-licensing *la niña*, ensures that the clitic is the closest element to the DP-external Probe, *v*. The clitic is therefore the goal for *v* (see Roberts (to appear) for an account of clitic-placement in Probe-Goal terms).

Sportiche (1996) puts forward a hybrid approach to clitic-placement and clitic-doubling. He suggests that the clitics themselves are inflections, merged in designated functional-head positions fairly high in the clause structure (Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007) adopt a similar approach, although they posit several 'clitic fields' in the clause). Sportiche suggests that the argumental category corresponding to the clitic voice is attracted, either overtly or covertly, to the specifier of the clitic head. Clitic-doubling results from covert attraction of the argument to the clitic head; overt attraction gives rise to scrambling (with the head covert). Where there is no overt double, a null pronominal is present. This analysis has the major merit of relating cliticization to scrambling, but has the drawback of positing a series of designated functional elements and thereby effectively divorcing clitic-placement from the general Case-licensing/Agree system.

Given either Uriagereka's approach or Sportiche's, clitic-doubling is not an argument against a movement analysis of clitic-placement. Of the various movement options we have seen, all are problematic; Sportiche's insight relating clitic-placement to scrambling is attractive, but unfortunately the nature of the movement involved in scrambling and even whether this phenomenon involves movement rather than base-generation remain open questions (see the overview in Richards 2004).

In conclusion, the nature of the movement operation involved in clitic-placement remains unclear. Both the A-movement and (syntactic) head-movement approaches are subject to various technical problems, as we have seen. If these problems can be overcome, then either mechanism may offer an account for the phenomenon (see Roberts (to appear) for an attempt to make a head-movement analysis work, and Boeckx and Gallego (2008) for an A-movement account).

One final phenomenon should be mentioned in connection with clitics: the Person Case Constraint (PCC). This was first observed for Spanish by Perlmutter (1971) and was also noted by Kayne (1975: 173–6) for French, who gave the following examples:

addition to its ϕ -features, and *la $_{\phi}$* has an N-feature). We can encode the trigger for nP-raising featurally by assigning uninterpretable N-features and an EPP-feature to ϕ ; the presence of these features constitutes the 'strength' of Spanish determiners, pointed out by Uriagereka. Raising of nP to Spec ϕ P is the exact nominal analogue of the raising of ν P to SpecTP in the clause (see Biberauer 2003; Richards and Biberauer 2006; Biberauer and Roberts 2005).

- 26i a *Il me lui présente
he me= to-him= introduces
- b Il le lui présente
he him= to-him= introduces
'He introduces him to him'
- c Il me présente à lui
he me introduces to him
'He introduces me to him'

Bejar and Rezac (2009: 46) formulate the PCC as follows:

- 27 In [_α Agr ... DP₁-oblique ... DP₂ ...], where α includes no other person Agr, DP₂ cannot have a marked person feature (1st/2nd, sometimes 3rd animate).

This captures the French paradigm in (26): 'Agr' corresponds to a target for a moved clitic in our terms, DP₁ is the IO-clitic and DP₂ is the DO-clitic.

There are many cases of the PCC reported in the literature which do not involve cliticization. Cardinaletti (2008) also points out the following example from Old Italian:

- 28 e di come gli ti se' tutta data ...
and say how to-him= yourself= you-are all given
'And say how you gave yourself all to him...'

(Dante, *Fiore*, 173.2)

Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007; this volume) and Savoia and Manzini (this volume) illustrate a number of mutual exclusion patterns in clitic sequences in Italian dialects. These include cases where an apparently unmotivated (or 'spurious') clitic form appears, as well as cases where an expected (and interpreted) clitic form is entirely missing. For discussion and examples, see chapters 3 and 4 below.

We see that complement clitics continue to pose a number of problems. If we accept that they are always placed by movement (with the consequences seen above for doubling), then we have to integrate them into the theory of movement; it is fair to say that this has not yet been fully achieved. There are also further problems, barely touched on here: clitic-ordering in clusters, clitic-climbing (briefly seen in (2a)) and 'restructuring' (see Cinque 2004; 2006), and the special case of clitic-climbing in causative constructions. This remains, then, a central area of research in Romance syntax.

2.3. *Subject clitics and the null-subject parameter*

One issue that has been much discussed in work on subject clitics has to do with deciding whether they are agreement markers or weak subject pronouns. This question has implications for the null-subject parameter: if the string *scl-V* is well-formed and *scl* is a form of agreement, then the structure contains a null

subject (however this is to be analysed); if the *scl* is a pronoun, then it itself is the subject and no null subject need be posited. In the Romance context, object clitics are easy to distinguish from (unmoved) objects, since the languages are VO, while object clitics typically precede the verb in finite contexts. Because subjects very commonly raise to SpecTP in Romance, it is harder to distinguish subject clitics cliticized to the left of T from (possibly weak) pronouns in SpecTP. In other words, in the string *scl-V* *scl* may be a weak pronoun, a clitic or a subject-agreement marker.

Rizzi (1986), building on earlier work by Renzi and Vanelli (1983) and Brandi and Cordin (1989), gave several arguments that distinguish subject-agreement markers from subject pronouns: subject-agreement markers may follow a preverbal negation, but not subject pronouns; subject-agreement markers are compatible with negatively quantified subjects, but not subject pronouns (since this would entail left dislocation of the negatively quantified subject, which is in general impossible: **Noone, he left*); subject-agreement markers must appear in both conjuncts of a coordinate structure, while subject pronouns do not have to; subject-agreement paradigms may contain gaps and syncretisms, while subject-pronoun paradigms do not. In each case, Rizzi argued, the French *je*-series acts like subject pronouns, while the subject clitics of Fiorentino and Trentino, for example, do not. Rizzi's arguments are developed and to some extent criticized in Poletto (2000) and, more extensively, Manzini and Savoia (2005, I: 119ff.).

Here I will focus on the question of the relation between the verbal agreement marking and the preverbal subject element. This is really Rizzi's fourth argument, as summarized above. While verbal inflection paradigms vary cross-linguistically from non-existent, as in East Asian languages, to extremely rich, as in Georgian (which can specify subject-, direct-object- and indirect-object agreement), subject pronoun paradigms always distinguish 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural in the traditional sense, with variation regarding further number specification (dual, trial) and gender marking.¹¹ The motivation for this difference between pronouns and agreement paradigms may well be functional, but it gives us a way to classify northern Italian subject clitics. It may correlate with the realization of uninterpretable features (agreement) vs the realization of interpretable features (pronouns).

So, let us break down the possible morphological patterns observed with subject clitics and verbal agreement inflection into four possible types. The diacritic [\pm agr] denotes whether a clitic or agreement paradigm shows a full set of morphological person-number distinctions. In fact, I will allow that a 'full' set of distinctions may contain at most one zero exponent and one syncretism

¹¹ Neeleman and Szendrői (2007; 2008) show that in some languages pronouns may be morphologically transparent, with identifiable person and number morphemes (e.g. Mandarin).

(which may be the zero exponent). Two further assumptions are (i) that a 'pronominal' paradigm must be a full paradigm, and (ii) that if verbal inflection shows a 'pronominal' paradigm, then the null-subject parameter has a positive value (this idea has its origins in traditional accounts of null subjects and is implemented in different ways in Rizzi 1982; Müller 2005; Roberts in press; and Holmberg in press).¹²

In these terms we can envisage the following possibilities. Crucially, scl is in proclisis here (enclitic paradigms tend to be richer, see below), and the system is not a V2 one (see note 10):

- 29 a scl [+agr] V[+agr] – a 'fully redundant', null-subject system
 b scl [+agr] V[-agr] – a non-null-subject system
 c scl [-agr] V[+agr] – a null-subject system
 d scl [-agr] V[-agr] – (usually) a complementary system

Strikingly, (29a, c, d) are clearly attested among northern Italian dialects, but not (29b).

An example of the 'fully redundant' system seen in (29a) is Fiorentino, as discussed in Brandi and Cordin (1989). In this variety, we see the following paradigm of subject clitics:

- 30 (E) parlo Si parla 'I speak', etc.
 Tu parli Vu parlate
 E parla E parlano
 La parla Le parlano

Here we see that the clitics and the verbal endings covary, both indicating the person and number of the subject, with only a small amount of syncretism: there is just one gap/syncretism in the clitic paradigm, involving 1sg./3sg.m./3pl.m. *e*, and one (complementary) syncretism in the verbal paradigm (between 3sg. and 1pl.). The occurrence of *parla/parlano* with 3sg.f. and 3pl.f. scl's is not a syncretism, as no Romance verbal inflection paradigm distinguishes gender, except possibly the dialect of Ripatransone (AP; cf. Lüdtke 1974; 1976). Hence both the scl paradigm and the verbal inflection are pronominal. We therefore treat the subject clitics as agreement markers (more technically, they are a realization of the uninterpretable ϕ -features of T). This concurs with the other evidence put forward by Brandi and Cordin.

(29b) represents a non-null-subject system. Here, by definition, the verbal inflection is unable to identify a null subject, and the pronoun paradigm is fully

¹² Unless the language is verb second. Since Haiman (1974), it has been observed that the verb-second property seems to prevent otherwise 'rich-agreement' systems from having null subjects. This may be the case for Icelandic and is certainly the case for many Rhaeto-Romansch varieties (but, mysteriously, not for Old French).

realized. This is the situation we observe in French, which has syncretic verbal inflection throughout the singular forms. Only one of the 180 Italian dialects reported by Manzini and Savoia has exactly the French pattern of partial syncretism in the verb endings and total differentiation of the subject pronouns (with the pronoun in proclisis, and leaving aside the verb-second Rhaeto-Romansch varieties): Soglio (Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 371). This is of course the pattern we find in non-null-subject languages such as English and German. The absence of this pattern in Italian dialects is an indication that at least the vast majority of northern Italian dialects are significantly different from French in this respect, and, along with the other patterns we observe in the dialects, suggests that they are consistent null-subject languages, while French is not. Accordingly, I follow Kayne (1983) and treat French subject pronouns as weak pronouns in SpecTP.

A pattern of the kind seen in (29c) is found in the Como dialect (Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 100):

- 31 dɔrmi dɔrmum 'I sleep' etc.
 ta dɔrmat dɔrmuf
 al/la dɔrma dɔrman

This dialect has fully differentiated verbal inflection, but syncretisms and gaps in the clitic paradigm. We can certainly treat this as a null-subject system, just like Standard Italian; the subject clitics are probably best treated as sporadic realizations of subject-related ϕ -features.

Finally, a fairly common pattern is that where neither the subject-clitic paradigm nor the verbal-inflection paradigm alone shows a full set of forms, but where together they form a single complementary (or near-complementary) pattern (this was already observed by Renzi and Vanelli 1983; Poletto 2000). The forms of the Carrara dialect, given in (32), illustrate (Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 80):

- 32 a dɔrmə a durmiŋ 'I sleep' etc.
 tə dɔrmə durmitə
 i/al dɔrmə i/al dɔrmənə

Looking at the verbal inflection, we observe syncretisms in the three persons of the singular, but here the three clitics are distinct. Conversely, the 1sg. and 1pl. clitics are the same, but the verbal inflection differs. So, taken together, the subject clitics and the verbal inflection provide distinct agreement marking for each person (this is true for all but three of the 180 dialects whose paradigms are given by Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 72–117). Hence, if we treat the two as jointly instantiating T's ϕ -set, we expect these to be null-subject systems. So here the subject clitics instantiate T's ϕ -set as uninterpretable features.

A further kind of subject-clitic paradigm needs to be distinguished, called by Poletto (2000) the 'vocalic clitics'. These clitics, which usually have the form *a*

or *i*, typically do not mark person distinctions, being syncretic either for both numbers of the 1st and 2nd persons or indeed throughout the paradigm. This is illustrated by the Emilian dialect of Gainago/Torrile (PR) as follows (Maria Cavalli, personal communication):

- 33 (a) dormi a dormome
 a t dormi a dormiv
 a l/la dorma i dormen

Here *a* (and possibly *i* in the 3pl.) clearly does not instantiate distinct subject ϕ -features. The verbal inflection makes five distinctions, thereby permitting null subjects, and the 2sg. subject clitic *t* is a complementary element, 'completing' the agreement-marking paradigm. It is very hard to tell what the *a* clitic is and what position it occupies. This element follows the subject, and it is not in complementary distribution with preverbal negation (this variety has a French-type *ne...pas* system, instantiated as *n...miga*). See Poletto (2000: ch. 2), Manzini and Savoia (2005, I: 219ff.) for differing proposals.

If a dialect has subject clitics, the possibility of French-style subject-clitic inversion arises (whether or not the system is a null-subject one). Many contemporary northern Italian dialects, especially those spoken towards the East, have subject-clitic inversion (it is likely that they all did at an earlier stage). Unlike what we observe in French, however, the subject clitics appear both in different forms and with differing distributions in inversion. The Veneto variety of Loreo (RO) illustrates differences in form between proclitics and enclitics (taken from Poletto 2000: 54):

- 34
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----|------|-------|----|---|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| <i>Proclitic:</i> | a | a te | el/la | a | a | i/le |
| <i>Enclitic:</i> | ia | to | lo/la | ia | o | li/le |

A number of varieties show a partial paradigm in proclisis and a full paradigm in enclisis, including the Friulan dialect Vito d'Asio (Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 361):

- 35
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----|----|------|-----|-----|---------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| <i>Proclitic:</i> | Ø | tu | al/a | Ø | Ø | a i/a s |
| <i>Enclitic:</i> | jo | tu | el/e | nos | vos | ei/es |

In this connection, Renzi and Vanelli's (1983) Generalization 9 is relevant:

If interrogative sentences are formed via subject inversion, (i) the number of enclitic pronouns found in interrogative sentences is equal to or greater than the number of proclitic pronouns in declarative sentences, and (ii) the subject pronouns found in proclitic position are also found in enclitic position.

This generalization has proven fairly robust; see Cardinaletti and Repetti (this volume) for discussion and analysis (who also conclude that these varieties

are null-subject systems, but of a fundamentally different type from Standard Italian).

A further possibility is that some or all persons of the putative interrogative conjugation show syncretism. Manzini and Savoia (2005, I: 564ff.) report a good number of cases of this type. Where person distinctions have been entirely lost in the enclitic, we can assume that it has been analysed as a 'pure' Q-morpheme. This has been proposed several times for colloquial French *tu/ti* (Roberge and Vinet 1989; Roberge 1990; Roberts 1993a); there are also a number of Franco-Provençal varieties which show this (see Roberts 1993b).

Some varieties such as Franco-Provençal Valdôtain show subject-clitic 'inversion' combined with a proclitic subject pronoun:

- 36 a Cen que dz' i dzo fe?
 what that I= have = I done?
 'What have I done?'
 b Dze medzo- dzò an pomma?
 I= eat =I an apple
 'Do I eat an apple?'

Similar examples, from various Provençal varieties, are mentioned by Poletto (2000: 54–5), and a wide range of apparently similar cases is reported in Manzini and Savoia (2005, I: 551ff.). A possibly related phenomenon found in some (Franco)-Provençal and Piedmontese varieties (on the latter, see Parry 1994) is what Roberts (1993b: 329) calls 'OCL-for-SCL'. Here it seems that there is just one morphological 'slot' for a proclitic. Where there is more than one proclitic in a compound tense, objects are enclitic to the past participle (for further examples, see Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 442ff.):

- 37 Gnunc l' a viu-me
 no-one scl=has seen=me
 'No one saw me'

(Roberts 1993b:330)

Finally, most northern Italian dialects show 'free inversion', which we expect if they are null-subject languages. It is quite common, however, for the agreement with the subject to be reduced in this case and, correspondingly, for any subject clitic to appear in a neutral form. This was in fact reported by Brandi and Cordin (1989) for Florentine and used as support for Rizzi's (1982) proposal that complementizer-trace violations were facilitated by free inversion, in the sense that the extraction site is the freely inverted position. The reason for this is that where the subject of a complement clause introduced by a complementizer is questioned, the defective agreement pattern indicative of free inversion obligatorily appears. The Florentine paradigm is as follows (see Brandi and Cordin 1989: 112–27):

- 38 a Gli ha telefonato delle ragazze
 scl= has telephoned some girls
 'Some girls phoned'
- b *Le hanno telefonato delle ragazze
 scl.3f.pl. have.3pl. phoned some girls
 'Some girls phoned'
- c Quante ragazze tu credi che gli abbia parlato?
 how-many girls you think that scl have.3sg. talked
 'How many girls do you think talked?'

Cardinaletti and Repetti (this volume) point out, however, that the possibilities for free inversion in many dialects are somewhat more limited than they are in Standard Italian.

In conclusion, the study of the subject clitics of (mostly) northern Italian dialects has proven and will certainly continue to be of the greatest interest for comparative Romance syntax and for comparative syntax in general. Questions ranging from the correct delineation of the null-subject parameter to the characterization of inversion constructions are certainly informed, and may be determined, by answers based on data from Italian dialects.

2.4. *Conclusion: the nature of parametric variation*

In conclusion, I want to make a few brief remarks on what the careful study of the syntax of Italian dialects of the kind reported here may contribute to the wider theory of parametric variation. I take it that there can be absolutely no doubt as to the value of this work for Romance syntax and for finding answers to the kinds of question entertained in the previous two sections and in the rest of this Introduction. But what of wider syntactic theory? (The following discussion relies heavily on Baker 2008a; Biberauer 2008; Roberts and Holmberg in press.)

The obvious issue that work on closely related systems such as the Italian dialects raises concerns the nature of parameters. Kayne has argued repeatedly in favour of the benefits of the 'microscopic' view brought to us by, for example, the study of Italian dialects. But suppose we adopt the standard minimalist view that parametric variation is characterized by variation in the realization of formal features of functional heads. Then we are led to conclude from the discussion in the previous section that there is a parametric difference between Carrarese (in (32)) and Gainaghese (in (33)) concerning the realization or not of the vocalic clitic in the 2nd persons; Gainaghese has the positive value and Carrarese has the negative value of this parameter. This may be a very nice example of a microparameter, and it may be of importance in the typology of northern Italian dialects. But one is tempted to agree with Newmeyer's intuition (in work that is otherwise seriously misguided in many respects; see Roberts and Holmberg (in press) for criticism) that 'we are not yet at the point of being

able to “prove” that the child is not equipped with 7,846 ... parameters, each of whose settings is fixed by some relevant triggering experience. I would put my money, however, on the fact that evolution has not endowed human beings in such an exuberant fashion’ (2005: 83). Although, as Newmeyer implicitly admits, this is only a plausibility argument, we agree with him. It seems highly implausible that UG should specify detailed microparameters governing the nature of clitic systems or agreement systems (or classifier systems or tone systems) when so many languages lack such systems entirely. Clearly, what is needed is some structure to parameter systems, at the very least along the lines of specifying ‘If L has a clitic/agreement/tone/classifier system, then what particular kind of system does L have?’, where the consequent may break down into a further series of implicational choices.

Arguably the real issue here is the tension between descriptive and explanatory adequacy. Parameters have arguably shared the fate of 1960s-style transformations in recent years. They are very powerful formal devices that make possible, for the first time ever, the precise, theory-internal description of cross-linguistic relations (and, correspondingly, descriptions of what children must be able to acquire). However, if over-exploited, and especially in the absence of any general restrictions on their form and functioning, these devices become mere facilitators of taxonomies. As in the case of the theory of transformations in the 1970s, what is required is a theory of parameters that will constrain their form and function.

Baker (2008a) gives interesting arguments for the existence of macroparameters alongside microparameters. In particular, he gives the following statistical argument: if all variation were microvariation, we would not expect to find coarse-grained types of the ‘head-initial’, ‘head-final’ kind. If each category were able to vary freely, independently of all others, for its linear order in relation to its complement, then we would expect there to be a normal distribution of word-order variants across languages. As he says (Baker 2008a: 360), ‘there should be many mixed languages of different kinds, and relatively few pure languages of one kind or the other.’ On the other hand, if there were only macroparameters, we predict that every category in every language should pattern in one way or the other. But if we admit both macroparameters and microparameters, we expect to find a bimodal distribution: languages should tend to cluster around one type or another, with a certain amount of noise and a few outliers from either one of the principal patterns. This, Baker points out, is essentially what we find. He suggests (pp. 362–3, citing his earlier 1996 work) that the same is true regarding polysynthesis.

To this we can add a diachronic argument based on Italo-Romance. We know, and the papers in this volume attest again, that the current Italo-Romance dialects show a great deal of microvariation. However, impressive though the variation among these varieties is, a large number of features remain constant: all Italian

dialects are SVO (although perhaps of slightly different subtypes; for example, in the northern Veneto there are a number of V2 types (e.g. S. Leonardo), and, according to Cruschina (2008), Sicilian is a discourse configurational language),¹³ all are prepositional, none show a systematic ergative case/agreement pattern (although some 'split-ergativity' is attested), none is fully polysynthetic, none shows the Chinese value of Chierchia's (1998) Nominal Mapping Parameter (namely, in allowing a singular count noun to stand alone as an argument, giving *I saw cat*), all have definite and indefinite articles, all have moderately rich agreement systems, none has a full morphological case system, etc. On the other hand, the microparametric variation involving the kinds of phenomena studied in the papers collected here is extremely intricate.

So, we can ask, why are certain properties variable in Italo-Romance and others not? The 'microparametric' answer is that no theoretical significance should be attached to what varies and what does not in this particular synchronic geographically defined domain; this is attributable to a historical accident, in that the common features are due to a shared inheritance. But if we try to locate the shared inheritance in the history of these varieties, it is somewhat elusive. In Classical Latin, which must at least have been closely related to the common ancestor of Italo-Romance, we find OV order, a full morphological case system, the complete absence of pronominal clitics and determiners, no (active) compound tenses and a system of complementation in which finite clausal subordination was a minority pattern. In fact, as has often been observed, the modern Romance languages are more similar to one another than any of them are to Latin (a perusal of the first five columns of Figure 1 in Gianollo, Guardiano and Longobardi (2008: 138–9) demonstrates this). The microparametric explanation for this observation would presumably appeal to the accumulation of microparametric changes in the common ancestor language before it broke up into the dialects, namely in Late or Vulgar Latin. The question here, though, is to what extent Vulgar Latin can be regarded as a single system; the term is generally used as a cover term for the varieties of non-literary Latin spoken in Italy and elsewhere in the Roman Empire, whose written records are somewhat uniform but have been argued to form a *koiné* (L. Palmer 1961: 223). In this connection, Clackson (2004: 790) says: 'the construction of a uniform "Vulgar Latin" probably oversimplifies a very complex linguistic situation. Different communities of speakers used different varieties.' If there ever was a single 'Proto(-Italo)-Romance' variety, it would probably have to be dated rather early, as Hall (1950) suggests on phonological

¹³ Interestingly, this only applies to the clause. Another large rift among the dialects concerns the head parameter in the DP: in northern Italian dialects there is a tendency towards head-last (e.g. possessive/adjective/quantifier + N), whereas in southern Italian dialects and Sardinian we find the opposite setting (e.g. N + possessive / adjective / quantifier). For further discussion of the data, see Renzi (1997; 2001; 2002).

grounds (proposing 250–200 BC, exactly the period in which Roman rule was extended to the whole Italian peninsula). Although the Latin of this period is known to differ somewhat from Classical Latin, and to have certain ‘Vulgar’ features, it is highly unlikely that it had the syntactic characteristics of Romance rather than Classical Latin (VO rather than OV order, etc).

It seems then that the current microparametric variation either derives historically from an archaic, typologically distinct, single-ancestor variety of Latin, or there is no ancestor variety common to all the dialects. Either way, the major typological differences between Latin and (Italo)-Romance cannot be traced to a single microparametric change or series of microparametric changes in a single variety; there must have been typological drift across the varieties of Vulgar Latin. Why then do we not find dialects that have retained a case system, or OV order, or synthetic passive forms, or that have not developed clitics, etc.? We also expect to find some dialects to have developed in the way we observe, and still others to have developed in a mixed fashion, preserving certain archaic features and innovating others. But what we find is ‘typological drift’ from OV to VO, and in the general direction of greater analyticity (as elsewhere in Indo-European). Arguably the simplest account of this kind of parallel development leads us to distinguish macroparametric from microparametric change, in postulating a small number of macroparametric changes rather than a hugely coincidental series of parallel microparametric changes (another possibility is the effects of contact, which, particularly in the case of Greek, cannot be discounted; cf. also the traditional view in Italo-Romance that the current dialect map is a rather good approximation of the distribution of the ancient peoples of Italy (Devoto 1978); see Roberts and Holmberg (in press: n. 13) for a very brief discussion).

Roberts and Holmberg conclude, with Baker, that macroparameters exist alongside microparameters. They go on to propose what they take to be a possible way to resolve the tension between explanatory and descriptive adequacy in the parametric domain. This involves retaining a formally ‘microparametric’ view of macroparameters, namely, seeing macroparameters as aggregates of microparametric settings, but as proposing that these aggregate settings are favoured by markedness considerations. This proposal was made in Roberts (2007: 274) for the Head Parameter (and is suggested as an ‘intermediate’ approach to the question of macro- vs microparametric variation by Baker 2008a: n. 2).

The central idea is a markedness condition which we can characterize informally as follows:

39 Generalization of the input:

if acquirers assign a marked value to H, they will assign the same value to all comparable heads.

This markedness statement essentially says that the unmarked option for the grammatical system in relation to some feature F is ‘no F has this value’, and

that the next least marked option is 'all F have this value'. More mixed, and therefore more marked, systems may relate the possession of F to further categorial features, and the options may become progressively more specific (have longer descriptions) and more marked. For example, in relation to the head parameter, we have a cross-cutting set of options of the form (assuming, following Kayne (1994), that head-final orders are derived by movement of complements):

- 40 a Are movement-triggering features absent from all probes?
- b If not, are movement-triggering features obligatory on all probes?
- c If neither (a) nor (b), are movement-triggering features present on certain categories of probes $\{T, v, \dots\}$?
- d If not (a–c), are movement-triggering features present on a subset of lexical items of certain categories of probes $\{T, v, \dots\}$?
- e If not (a–d), are movement-triggering features present on a subset of lexical items of any category of probes $\{T, v, \dots\}$?

The positive value of (40a) gives a rigidly, harmonically head-initial language such as Welsh. The positive value of (40b) gives a rigidly, harmonically head-final language such as Japanese or Turkish. Again, (40c) breaks up into a series of microparameters, with a range of other factors entering here. The existence of this set of options, in this order, is determined by generalization of the input. The first option is the least marked, and each subsequent one becomes more marked, and therefore further along the learning path, cross-linguistically rarer and more prone to change. Roberts and Holmberg (in press) and Roberts (in press) show how a similar 'parametric network' can be set up for null arguments; this is relevant for the microparametric variation found in Italo-Romance.

Roberts and Holmberg arrive at a picture of the form of parameters as involving generalized quantification over formal features, as follows:

- 41 $Q(f_f \in C) [P(f)]$

Here Q is a quantifier, f is a formal feature, C is a class of grammatical categories providing the restriction on the quantifier, and P is a set of predicates defining formal operations of the system ('Agrees', 'has an EPP feature', 'attracts a head', etc.). The longer the characterization of either C or P , the more deeply embedded in a network the parameter will be, the more marked it will be and the further along the learning path it will be. This maximally simple theory of parameters also suggests an answer to the most difficult question of all: why do we have parameters at all? The format for parameters in (41),

inasmuch as it allows Q to be a negative quantifier, basically states that formal features of functional heads are all in principle optional. UG says nothing more than this, which is about as little as could possibly be said (in particular, this is a more 'minimal' statement than either forbidding or requiring the presence of such features). Moreover, the quantificational schema is maximally liberal: it states that the formal features may be in any set-theoretic relation with any predicate defined by the theory of grammar. So parametric variation arises because UG really does not mind about the distribution of formal features in any given grammatical system. The fact that children fixate on given grammatical systems during language acquisition does not directly concern UG, however: 'fixing' parameters may be a facet (actually, almost a definition) of learning. So the kind of stable parametric variation we observe in adults arises from the fixation on UG-random values.

In these terms, we could ask where Italo-Romance 'fits' in terms of macro- and microparameters and the associated notions of markedness. Of course, it is almost impossible to give a general answer, but it is at least possible to observe that the general head-initial nature of all Italo-Romance (at least at the clausal level, see note 13) represents an unmarked macroparametric value, while the northern Italian systems of subject clitics, especially if, as suggested by Cardinaletti and Repetti (this volume), they represent 'inconsistent' null-subject systems, may represent quite marked, microparametrically varying systems in relation to the null-subject parameter. Something similar might apply for the central-southern varieties showing microvariation in auxiliary selection – as well as many other areas of the grammar (e.g. participle agreement, *ne*-cliticization, SV vs VS word order, adverbial adjective agreement, marking of highly animate/specific Os) – in relation to a possible ergative parameter. However, these speculations can only be clarified by further analysis and systematization of the data, of the kind represented by the articles included here.

3. The verbal domain: TP-VP structure and auxiliaries

3.1. Introduction

The verbal system of Italo-Romance offers an outstanding example of syntactic microvariation. Traditionally, the VP is the projection taken to encode the locus of the lexical information of the verb, its arguments and its theta-roles. That all this information can hardly be clustered into one head is an observation that was underlined by Larson (1988), who proposed a VP-shell for ditransitive constructions. The VP-shell idea has developed in several directions, including that of a *v*-V verbal complex as the locus of Burzio's generalization. The *v* head was originally proposed by Chomsky (1955) and reintroduced in Chomsky (1995: ch. 4) and Kratzer (1996) as the head that assigns accusative Case and hosts the

external argument in its specifier. This specific idea has been developed by Distributed Morphologists, who take V to be the verbal root, which only has the basic meaning of the verb, while *v* provides the root with its 'verb-ness' (Marantz 1997). Much work has recently been done on *v*, which is nowadays mostly conceived as the 'transitivity' head. In this short introduction we shall not enter into much detail regarding *v*, but shall limit ourselves to the assumption that *v* is the head with which the external argument is first merged (or, in traditional terminology, the *v*P is the projection where the external argument is inserted) and which assigns accusative to the object in a transitive construction, unless otherwise specified.

The Infl(ectional) head was originally proposed in Chomsky (1981) as a substitute for what had been called hitherto Aux (cf. the phrase structure rule $S \rightarrow NP \text{ Aux VP}$). So in Chomsky (1981), and all standard GB theory up to Chomsky (1986), there were two PS rules, namely, $S' \rightarrow \text{Comp } S$ and $S \rightarrow NP \text{ Aux VP}$, where S' was not an X-bar projection of S , but S and S' were different categories. Following proposals in Pesetsky (1982) and Kayne (1983), Chomsky (1986) replaces S'/S with CP/IP, such that the subject position, which was immediately dominated by S in the phrase structure rule model, came to occupy the SpecIP position. At around the same time, the VP-internal subject hypothesis was formulated (Kuroda 1988; Koopman and Sportiche 1991). According to this hypothesis, the subject originates in SpecVP and raises to SpecIP, where it receives nominative case. One of the pieces of empirical evidence for the VP-internal subject hypothesis was the position of the auxiliary in existential constructions. In a Sardinian sentence like *bi sun metas ervekes inoke* 'there are lots of sheep here', *sun* 'are' occupies the Infl head. Since then, Infl (then I, nowadays T) is assumed to be the head that hosts auxiliaries, whereas in previous theories (Chomsky 1957; 1981) Aux/Infl was assumed to undergo affix hopping.

The role of Infl has changed quite considerably during the course of the years, but it has fundamentally remained faithful to the original idea of being the head where the auxiliary is merged. Moreover, Infl (T nowadays) is the head that assigns nominative to the subject and that bears the tense/aspectual/modal 'morphology', which will 'attach' to the verb through V-to-T movement in Romance languages (Emonds 1978). T is hence the head where inflection is hosted and where information about the tense/aspectual/modal specification of the verb is encoded. T is also the head that assigns nominative case (i.e. T licenses the external argument). Finite inflection and external argument licensing thus take place in conjunction with the same head. This definition of T captures the empirical fact that the subject needs a licensing finite verb in its clause, thus capturing the common understanding that one cannot exist without the other. Examining the data from Italo-Romance varieties, we shall see below that this definition of T is, however, rather inappropriate. Instead, it will be

shown that the inflectional information should be kept distinct from subject licensing, and that one head alone cannot (or does not, in most cases) encode all the temporal, aspectual and modal information relating to the verb.

In what follows, I will first outline a short overview of the role of T in Italo-Romance varieties. I will consider one by one the properties that are commonly assigned to T to determine how and if they hold for the Italian dialects. First, auxiliaries will be considered, and the mainstream theories of auxiliary selection will be considered in the light of the dialects, before we turn to examine T as the head that hosts verbal agreement, and in particular person agreement. I will then consider T as the head of tense, aspect and mood. Subsequently, I will examine complex verb forms, such as the periphrastic future and the multiple auxiliary pluperfect forms, after which I will investigate V-to-T phenomena in Italo-Romance. Finally, I will examine the syntax of past participles in Italo-Romance varieties and associated agreement phenomena.

3.2. *Auxiliary selection in Italo-Romance*

3.2.1. *Standard auxiliary selection* The term ‘auxiliary selection’ refers to the variable selection of either BE or HAVE as the auxiliary in the formation of the present perfect, variously depending on verbal semantics or argument structure. One of the first attempts to explain auxiliary selection in Italian goes back to Burzio (1986), who, following Perlmutter’s (1978) intuition, expressed within the Relational Grammar framework, observed that unaccusative (ergative in his terms) verbs pattern together with passives in selecting BE as their present perfect auxiliary, whereas transitives and unergatives select HAVE. Auxiliary selection is hence, according to Burzio, linked to argument structure. Specifically, BE is linked to intransitive (or passives) with an internal argument as their subject, while HAVE is selected by those verbs whose subject is an external argument (transitives or unergatives). Along the same (structural) lines, Kayne (1993) proposes a theory of auxiliary selection strictly associated with the structural definition of individual verbs. Building on Szabolcsi’s (1981; 1983) analysis of the Hungarian possessive construction, according to which HAVE is a derived form of BE, Kayne maintains that underlyingly BE and HAVE start off as the same form, namely, BE, from which HAVE is obtained through incorporation of an abstract D/P head. This non-overt prepositional D/P is situated lower than the head where BE is hosted:

42 BE [_{DP} Spec D/P ... AgrS AgrO [_{VP} Spec [_V V DP]]]

In a sentence like (43), the subject *I* ‘I’ is generated in SpecVP and moves to SpecAgrS. From this position, it keeps moving successive-cyclically through SpecDP to reach SpecBE. However, as such this movement is not allowed, given that SpecBE is an A-position, while SpecDP is an A’-position. In order for

this movement to be licensed, the D/P head needs to incorporate into BE, transforming its specifier into an A-position and thereby permitting DP raising. This incorporation of D/P into BE is spelled out as HAVE.

- 43 I' aggiu rott' (*rutt) 'a butteglia
 I have broken-f.sg. broken-m.sg. the bottle.f.sg.
 'I have broken the bottle'

(Nap., Ledgeway 2000: 191)

A completely different approach is the lexico-semantic analysis of Sorace (1993; 2000), who considers auxiliary selection of the 'standard' Romance type a reflex of a particular verb's 'unaccusative' or 'unergative' status. After comparing most Romance varieties, Sorace concludes that auxiliary selection takes place according to an Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (ASH; for discussion, see also Cennamo this volume), which is determined by the lexico-semantic and aspectual properties of individual verbs. Specifically, the more 'unaccusative' the verb is, the more likely it is to select BE. Unaccusativity is determined, in turn, by the semantics of individual verbs, which are arranged along a scale of unaccusativity determined by such factors as 'change of location', 'change of state', 'continuation of a pre-existing state', 'existence of state' and so on. These 'factors' are, in turn, the results of the combination of such binary features as [\pm dynamic], [\pm telic], [\pm abstract], whose values combine to give the semantic classes above. For example, in Paduan, Cennamo and Sorace (2007) demonstrate that, with manner of motion verbs, auxiliary selection, rather like in Italian, is determined by the telic aspectual interpretation of the verb. Consequently, in (44a) *correre* 'to run' selects BE in conjunction with a telic directional phrase, but HAVE in (44b) where the same verb is used in its non-telic interpretation:

- 44 a La Maria la ze corsa casa
 the Maria scl3f.sg. is run home
 'Maria ran home'
- b La Maria la ga corso par tre ore in tel parco
 the Maria scl3f.sg. has run for three hours in the park
 'Maria ran for three hours in the park'

In between the structural and the semantic approaches we can find two further approaches to auxiliary selection: that of Chierchia (1989–2004) and that of Reinhart (1997). According to these approaches, BE is a marker of the subject undergoing some semantic operation (reflexivization or reduction).

These approaches, with the exception of Kayne's (see §3.2.2) and Cennamo and Sorace's, all address the distribution of auxiliaries in 'standard' varieties. Remember that in these varieties, the selection of BE and HAVE varies according to the verb in question (either in terms of its argument structure or its semantics).

However, auxiliary selection in Italian dialects is not limited to the kind we have just seen. In particular, it can vary according to the person of the subject, the tense and mood of the verb, the argument structure of the verb, and according to a combination of these factors. Moreover, in some varieties, there is no auxiliary selection at all, and the auxiliary selected is either HAVE or BE (for a comprehensive overview of auxiliary selection patterns in Italo-Romance, see Manzini and Savoia 2005, II–III). In what follows, we will take a closer look at the most salient features of so-called ‘split auxiliary selection’.

3.2.2. Auxiliary selection according to person In many southern Italian varieties, the auxiliary in the present perfect is selected according to the subject’s person feature. The most commonly found pattern is that in which 1st and 2nd person subjects select the auxiliary BE and 3rd person subjects select HAVE (Rohlf 1969: §730; Giammarco 1973; Tuttle 1986; Kayne 1993). As an example, consider the following data from Amandola (AP) presented in Manzini and Savoia (2005, II: 681):

- 45 a Lu so ccamatu
him= I-am called.m.sg.
‘I have called him’
- b Li si ccamatu
him= you-are.sg. called.m.sg.
‘You have called him’
- c L a camatu
him= have.3 called.m.sg.
‘(S)he has called him’
- d Lu simo camatu
him= we-are called.m.sg.
‘We have called him’
- e Lu sete camatu
him= you-are.pl. called.m.sg.
‘You have called him’
- f L a camatu
him= have.3 called.m.sg.
‘They have called him’

This kind of auxiliary alternation has been attributed by Bentley and Eythórsson (2001) to an original neutralization of HAVE in the 1/2sg. (HABES/HABET > *(h)a*) due to the loss of the final Latin consonant (and its eventual syntactic doubling effect), an ambiguity resolved by using the corresponding form of BE in the 2sg., with BE subsequently extending to the 1sg. The auxiliary selection paradigm has consequently been reanalysed as a morphological system of person marking. Observe that this analysis is supported by the fact that in

split auxiliary varieties BE is obligatory only with a 2sg. subject, but not elsewhere (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 681). This apparent freedom suggests that there are several possible patterns of subject-oriented auxiliary selection (see Legendre, this volume, for an OT analysis of such microlinguistic variation), and this is in fact what we find (for a thorough overview of all possible interactions among person features and BE/HAVE, see Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: ch. 5).

According to Kayne (1993), this person split is due to a different strength status of the AgrS features. Specifically, Kayne proposes that strong person/number features on AgrS can only be activated by a certain kind of subject passing through its specifier, namely 1st and 2nd person subjects. When activated by the right kind of features, AgrS can, in turn, raise to D/P and convert its specifier into an A-position. Given that SpecDP is an A-position, no incorporation of this head into BE is necessary in order to enable DP movement to SpecBE. Hence, the auxiliary remains BE, since no incorporation takes place. Along the same lines, Ledgeway (2000) offers an analysis of split auxiliary selection according to finiteness in several southern Italian dialects.

It is interesting to observe, with Manzini and Savoia (2005) and D'Alessandro and Roberts (to appear), that split auxiliary selection patterns of the kind 1st/2nd vs 3rd persons recall patterns of split ergativity found in such languages as Hindi and Georgian. Notably, in these languages split ergativity tends to emerge in perfective contexts. This is also the case in southern Italian dialects, where split auxiliary selection mainly emerges in perfective contexts, as has been pointed out by the same authors. The sensitivity to feature hierarchies and to tense are thus a common feature for these otherwise very different languages.

Auxiliary selection according to person is not the only 'deviant' phenomenon with respect to 'standard' HAVE/BE auxiliation. Some southern Italian varieties predominantly exhibit a HAVE pattern (e.g. urban Nap. *ite sciso* 'you have descended', Sic. *avia nisciuto* 'he had gone out'; La Fauci 1992; Ledgeway 2000; 2007a). In these varieties, most or all perfective forms are obtained with the auxiliary HAVE. This expansion of HAVE to the detriment of BE has been interpreted as a consequence of temporal/modal factors (Formentin 2001; Ledgeway 2003) or by syntactico-semantic factors (Cennamo 1999; 2002). Ledgeway (2003), for instance, presents a thorough analysis of Old Neapolitan data and compares them with data from several other southern dialects. In the *Libro de la destructione de Troya*, an early fourteenth-century text, he documents numerous alternations between BE and HAVE in unaccusative and passive contexts, which testify to the emergence of HAVE in contexts usually reserved for BE. He observes that HAVE and BE alternate freely, but only when the verb is characterized by an irrealis modal value. Consequently, HAVE with unaccusatives is typically attested with verbs in the subjunctive, conditional and future. By way of example, Ledgeway discusses the sentence in

(46), where an apparently free alternation between BE and HAVE occurs with the unaccusative verb *bastare* ‘to suffice’. Significantly, Ledgeway observes that HAVE appears in the conditional, while BE occurs in the indicative. In other words, when the verb appears in an irrealis mood, the auxiliary is HAVE, but when the same verb in the same sentence appears in the present perfect, the auxiliary surfaces as BE:

- 46 E se eo non avesse avuta in me questa potestate **averriame** bene
 and if I not had.subj. had.PtP in me this power it-would=to-me well
 potuto bastare, commo è bastato ad onnuno de quist’ altri signuri
 been-able suffice.inf. like it-is sufficed.PtP to each of these other men
 ‘And if I didn’t have this power in me, it would have sufficed me, like it has to each
 of these other men’
 (Nap., *Libro de la destructione de Troya*, fourteenth century, 201.35–6)

Ledgeway concludes that Formentin’s (2001) proposal, according to which the extension of HAVE at the expense of BE is determined by the temporal-aspectual morpho-syntactic specification of the verb, is on the right track, but that this claim needs to be further refined by recognizing that it is actually the irrealis modal value of a given clause that facilitates the expansion of HAVE. Interestingly, this once again recalls split ergativity patterns. Indeed, as Ledgeway observes, ergative and accusative systems alternate in Pāri and Sumerian according to the modal specification of the clause: ‘descriptive’ mood does not permit ergative, whereas ‘intentional’ mood triggers an ergative case system (Dixon 1994).

A different explanation for the expansion of HAVE over BE in some southern Italian varieties is put forward by Cennamo (1999; 2002), who proposes that this spread begins with unaccusatives denoting mental or physical activity, with an AGENT or EXPERIENCER subject, and with telic verbs denoting dynamic situations. This analysis is not completely antithetical to that of Ledgeway, in that unaccusatives denoting activity or intention often appear in an irrealis mood or encode an intentional, unrealized activity.

Let us now go back to the function of T in the dialects. As stated above, T is the locus where both inflection and subject licensing are believed to be located. Furthermore, there is a supposed correlation between the verb’s finiteness and its ability to license a nominative subject, such that non-finite verbs do not usually license nominative subjects. This is traditionally attributed to the absence of T or to its defectiveness. Consider the sentence in (47):

- 47 *Occorrono 10 minuti per partire il treno
 are-needed 10 minutes for leave.inf. the train

The ungrammaticality of this sentence is attributed to the non-finiteness of the infinitival verb *partire*, which cannot license the subject *il treno*. This

generalization does not hold for many Italian dialects, where we can find explicit nominative subjects with non-finite verb forms such as the infinitive or the gerund (Cresti 1994; Cuneo 1997; Ledgeway 1998; 2000; Mensching 2000):

- 48 a Ce vonno 10 minute pe parti 'o treno
 LOC want.pl. 10 minutes for leave.inf. the train
 'It takes still 10 minutes before the train leaves'

(Nap., Ledgeway 2007a: 163)

- b Nu serve egñi u vigile!
 not it-serves come.inf. the traffic-warden
 'There is no need for the traffic warden to come'

(Cicagna, GE, Cuneo 1997: 107)

These sentences show that finiteness and subject licensing do not necessarily go hand in hand, but also that the information on tense and agreement can be accommodated into different heads. In this respect, an important piece of evidence is provided by D'Alessandro and Ledgeway (this volume), who examine the pluperfect in the Eastern Abruzzese dialect of Arielli (CH). In this dialect, both auxiliaries co-occur in the formation of the pluperfect, the higher auxiliary surfacing as BE and the lower as HAVE. While the higher auxiliary carries (person and number) agreement information, the lower auxiliary carries temporal/aspectual information (e.g. *so 've viste a Marije*, lit. 'I-am had seen Mary'). This periphrastic form is not the only one in use in Italian dialects, where several analytical forms have replaced the synthetic Latin forms (see also Cennamo this volume).

In northern Italian dialects, particularly in Piedmontese, Northern Lombard, Venetan and Friulian, the so-called *surcomposée* forms are quite widely used to express actions that are completed (for the use of a similar paradigm in Old Neapolitan, see Ledgeway 1997–9):

- 49 Quand l' a avü consumà
 when it= he-has had.PtP. used-up
 'When he has used it up' (Cuneo)

In (49), the auxiliary HAVE occurs twice: the first (higher) form is used to encode agreement and the lower to encode tense. This form probably originates from the complete disappearance of the Latin synthetic perfect in northern Italian dialects and its replacement with a present perfect (though see Formentin 2004). This construction shows once again that the agreement and tense/aspectual information are not always clustered within the T head.

Other periphrastic verb forms are found in southern Italian dialects to express future or modal values (Loporcaro 1999). Specifically, those varieties that lack an analytic form for 'must' generally exhibit the form 'have + P + infinitive' (see Hastings 2007). An overview of the distribution of the form *aviri a/da* ('to have to') + infinitive in Sicilian is presented in Amenta (this volume).

3.3. *V-to-T*

One of the characteristic features of Romance languages is so-called ‘V-to-T’ movement. This label refers to the observation that in Romance verbs move to the T head, possibly in order to receive or license their tense/aspectual inflection. V-to-T was first observed by Emonds (1978) and subsequently taken up again by Pollock (1989). Emonds pointed out a difference in word order between the English sentence in (50a) and its French equivalent in (50b):

- 50 a John often kisses Mary
 b Jean embrasse souvent Marie

According to Emonds and Pollock, the fact that the adverb *souvent/often* appears to the right of the French finite verb and to the left of the English finite verb shows that the verb in French has moved to a higher position than in English. Accordingly, the verb in French (and in Romance more generally) is taken to move to the T head.

According to Chomsky (1991), V-to-T (or, more precisely, *v*-to-T) does not involve verb raising at all, but simply follows from whether the *v* head raises to T before or after Transfer. This in turn implies that Romance languages have strong ϕ -features on T (and therefore *v* moves to T overtly, before Transfer), whereas the ϕ -features on T in English are weak (hence, no overt *v*-to-T movement). However, V (or *v*)-to-T movement is hardly justifiable in a phase-theoretical approach such as that assumed in Chomsky’s current instantiation of the Minimalist Program. Now that feature strength has been abandoned and that there is no correlation between movement and Agree, it proves quite difficult to explain the English/French asymmetry with respect to the position of the verb. No generally accepted solution seems to have emerged in relation to this problem. However, one possibility, put forward by Gallego (2007), is that the C-T-*v* dependency is established through Tense (see Pesetsky and Torrego 2004), and that verb-movement is related to the tense specification of the clause. Here we leave open the discussion of how what appears to be an empirical fact of (Italo-)Romance varieties can be best accounted for, noting instead that verb-movement in Italian dialects seems to be more complex than in the rest of Romance. On the basis of several southern and central Italian dialects, as well as Triestino, Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) show that the lexical verb does not have only one landing site, but at least two (see also, Tortora 2002; this volume). By way of illustration, consider the following data from Cosentino taken from Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005: 80):

- 51 a Un vi parranu **mancu**
 not you= they-speak not-even
 ‘They won’t even speak to you’

- b Un vi **mancu** parranu
 not you= not-even they-speak
 'In any case they won't speak to you'

Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) note that the clitic in these varieties does not need to attach directly to the verb. Moreover, the finite verb can remain among lower VP adverbs (Cinque 1999) in a space that Ledgeway and Lombardi identify with a clause-medial position. Sentences like (52a–b) taken from Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005: 88), which would sound very unnatural in Italian, prove perfectly natural in Cosentino (where HAS and LAS indicate the higher and lower adverb spaces, respectively):

- 52 a [_{HAS} Rosina (*fatica) **purtroppu**] [_{VP} ci (fatica) [_{LAS} **sempe** fatica] [_{v-VP} t_{fatica} t_{ci}]]
 Rosina works unfortunately to-it= works always works
 'Rosina unfortunately is always working on it'
- b [_{HAS} Rosina] [_{VP} (cucina) [_{LAS} cucina **buonu** (*cucina)]] [_{v-VP} t_{cucina}]]
 Rosina cooks cooks well cooks
 'Rosina cooks well'

The landing site of the verb in these Italo-Romance varieties is hence lower than T.

3.3.1. Past participle agreement The position of the non-finite verb (and the past participle in particular) can also play a significant role in some Italo-Romance varieties. In dialects like Eastern Abruzzese, past participles can agree with the external argument, contradicting Belletti's (2005) generalization according to which past participles never agree with external arguments in Romance. Moreover, the past participle can also overtly agree with an internal argument, which, again, does not happen in Standard Italian. D'Alessandro and Roberts (to appear) explain these facts by claiming that the participle occupies a higher position in Standard Italian than it does in Eastern Abruzzese, with the consequence that the participle and the direct object are not in the same Spell-Out domain at PF and hence are unable to realize the Agree relation morphophonologically. Following D'Alessandro and Roberts (2008), D'Alessandro and Roberts (to appear) propose that the overt realization of the Agree relation is obtained only if the elements that are in an Agree relation belong to the same Spell-Out domain. In Standard Italian, the participle raises to a position outside the substructure containing the direct object, and hence the two do not overtly agree. In Eastern Abruzzese (and presumably a number of other central-southern dialects where general participle agreement with direct objects is observed; cf. Loporcaro 1998; this volume), the participle remains in a sufficiently 'low' position for overt agreement to be licensed.

The following sentences highlight the fact that the position of the past participle is different in Italian from what it is in Eastern Abruzzese. As noted above for Ledgeway and Lombardi, the difference does not lie in grammaticality vs

ungrammaticality, but rather in what is more natural in the two languages. The sentence in (53a) is perfectly natural in Eastern Abruzzese, but more marked in Italian:

- 53 a Le so poche capite (?poche)
 it= I-am little understood little
- b L' ho (??poco) capito poco
 it= I-have little understood little
 'I understood it a little'
- (D'Alessandro and Roberts to appear, n. 14)

As for the external argument, once again the subject and the past participle are much closer in Eastern Abruzzese than in Italian. D'Alessandro and Roberts propose that *v* is the head that licenses the subject in Eastern Abruzzese and propose a mechanism of feature inheritance for external argument agreement in Eastern Abruzzese. Observe furthermore that, if D'Alessandro and Roberts are on the right track, this means that *v* is not the only head that can assign nominative in Romance.

Manzini and Savoia (2005, II: ch. 5) offer an overview of past participle agreement facts, discussing the correlation with auxiliary selection (for a treatment within a Relational Grammar framework, see also Loporcaro 1998). It is traditionally assumed that with BE selection past participle agreement is present, whereas no past participle agreement takes place, either with the subject or the object *in situ*, when the auxiliary is HAVE. This claim is substantiated by such languages as Spanish, which does not have auxiliary selection (invariably selecting HAVE in the present perfect) and does not display past participle agreement (except in the passive), and Italian, where the presence of BE (with passives and unaccusatives) correlates with past participle agreement with the internal argument, while the presence of HAVE (with transitives and unergatives) correlates with zero agreement. Legendre (this volume) offers, however, some examples of languages where this correlation does not hold. As for agreement with the object *in situ*, in some dialects, such as Carmiano, Copertino and Alliste (LE; Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 561), as well as in Old Italian, this type of agreement is still robustly documented (see also Loporcaro, this volume, for a discussion of similar cases in Campania):

- 54 addzu fjakkwate ε kammise
 I-have washed.f.pl. the.f.pl. shirts.f.pl.
 'I washed the shirts'
- (Alliste, LE, Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 561)

To conclude, it is important to underline that the phenomena discussed above are in no way intended to provide an exhaustive account of the enormous variation that the dialects of Italy afford the linguist with regard to typological

and theoretical issues relating to the structure of the Italo-Romance T-V system. Rather, the aim of this section has been to merely offer a selective overview of some of the main problems that the dialects raise and some indication of the vast microvariation attested in this area of the grammar.

4. The clausal domain: CP structure and the left periphery

4.1. Introduction

In recent years much research within generative syntax has been increasingly directed towards the investigation of the fine structure of the C-domain, culminating in the seminal work of Rizzi (1997), which has given rise to a widely accepted view of the fundamental cartography of the left periphery.¹⁴ Significantly, a considerable amount of such work on the split C-system has been conducted on the basis of the rich dialectal variation offered by the linguistic varieties of the Italian peninsula,¹⁵ which in many cases provide invaluable overt evidence with which to map the fine structural organization of the left periphery. In particular, the left periphery, traditionally defined in terms of CP and its associated specifier and head positions hosting *wh*-operators and complementizers (cf. 55), respectively (Chomsky 1986: §1), is now conceived as a split domain, hierarchically articulated into several fields and associated projections. In what follows we shall review some of the dialectal evidence in support of this richly articulated representation of the C-domain, although limitations of space allow us to consider here only a small selection of the available evidence reported in the literature.

55 [SpecCP *wh*-XP [C' Comp [TP...]]]

4.2. Topic and Focus fields

The traditional assumption of a simple CP layer immediately above the sentential core (cf. 55) forces us to assume that topicalized or focused elements target the same position, namely SpecCP. This assumption, however, runs into a number of empirical difficulties. For instance, it incorrectly predicts that fronted

¹⁴ Much of Rizzi's (1997) sketch of the left periphery is already informally mapped out in Benincà's (1988) descriptive overview of the Italian left periphery. It is also worth recalling that Chomsky (1977) posited a TOPIC position above COMP.

¹⁵ See, among others, Benincà (1983; 1994b; 1996; 2001; 2003; 2006), Munaro (1999; 2003; 2004), Poletto (2000; 2003; 2005b), Munaro and Poletto (2002), Chinellato and Garzonio (2003), Ledgeway (2003b; 2005; 2007b; 2008; in press), Paoli (2003a; 2003b; 2005; 2007), Benincà and Poletto (2004), Garzonio (2004), Poletto and Zanuttini (2003), Cruschina (2006), Damonte (2006b; in press), Remberger (in press).

topicalized and focused constituents should occur in complementary distribution, given the availability of a single position. Yet one does not need to look far to find evidence to the contrary: just consider the first documented attestation of the vernacular within the Italian peninsula, the *Placito capuano*, a brief, formulaic, sworn declaration dating from March 960 (see also Benincà 2003: 241):¹⁶

- 56 Sao ko kelle terre, per kelle fini que ki contene, TRENTA ANNI
 I-know that those lands for those confines which here contains thirty years
 le possette parte sancti Benedicti
 them= possessed party of-saint Benedict
 'I know that, those lands, within those borders which are contained here [in the document/map], have belonged for thirty years to the part [= monastery] of St Benedict [of Montecassino]'

Although an extremely brief glimpse of the early vernacular, it nonetheless contains for our purposes invaluable early evidence of the fine structure of the C-domain and, in particular, incontrovertible proof of the existence of at least two left-peripheral positions. Even within a theory in which multiple specifier positions are allowed (Chomsky 1995; 2000; 2001), it is not immediately clear how the rigid Topic + Focus ordering in (56) is to be captured. Moreover, this example, in which the contrastively focused constituent *TRENTA ANNI* 'thirty years' is preceded by the two topicalized constituents *per kelle fini que ki contene* 'within those borders that are contained here' and *kelle terre* 'those lands', highlights the fact that even the postulation of two left-peripheral positions is not sufficient. Rather, the relevant positions must be reconceived as distinct pragmatico-syntactic spaces along the lines of Benincà and Poletto (2004), according to which we can identify from left to right at least two fields, termed *Topic* and *Focus* respectively. Not only is this demarcation between *Topic* and *Focus* justified at a pragmatico-semantic level, in that elements appearing in the *Topic* field are generally interpreted as 'old' or 'given' information, whereas the *Focus* field is typically associated with informationally 'new' elements, but it also finds considerable confirmation at the syntactic level. For instance, in contrast to elements appearing within the *Topic* field, which often call for a resumptive pronominal clitic where available (cf. 57a),¹⁷ those appearing within *Focus* (cf. 57b) typically prove incompatible with a pronominal copy (Benincà 2001: 43ff.):

¹⁶ In all the examples that follow, topicalized constituents are underlined, contrastive foci appear in small capitals and non-contrastive foci in bold. All other salient categories appear in italics.

¹⁷ Also relevant here is the use of the resumptive clitic *le* 'them' referencing the topic *kelle terre* 'those lands' in (56) above.

- 57 a Mario, de so sorela, *(el) ghe ne parla sempre
 Mario of his sister scl= of-her= speaks always
 'Mario is always talking about his sister'
 (Pad., Benincà and Poletto 2004)
- b **El mato del pian de soto** (*lo) go visto
 the guy of-the floor of below him= I-have seen
 'I saw the guy from downstairs'
 (Tries., Paoli this volume)

Additional evidence for this strict structural demarcation between the *Topic* and *Focus* fields comes from the distribution of clitic placement in the medieval dialects (Benincà 1994b: 228–38; 2003: 243–4; 2006: 67–8; Salvi 2004: ch. 3; Poletto 2005b: 226; Ledgeway 2007b: 131–4; 2008: 443), which generally display enclisis following topicalized constituents (cf. 58a) and proclisis in conjunction with fronted focused constituents (cf. 58b):

- 58 a [_{TopP} de queste toy promissiune [_{FocP} Ø [_{FinP} voglyo [_{TP} t_{voglyo} *nde* essere
 of these your promises I-want =thereof be.inf.
 certa]]]]
 certain
 'I want to be certain of these promises of yours'
 (Nap., *Libro de la destructione de Troya*, fourteenth century, 60.21–2)
- b [_{FocP} **sì fuorti cuolpi** [_{FinP} *li donava* [_{TP} t_{li} donava t_{si} fuorti cuolpi]]]
 such strong blows to-it= he-gave
 'He gave him such strong blows'
 (ibid. 66.12)

These facts find a straightforward explanation in terms of the traditional Tobler–Mussafia Law, one of the principal generalizations of which states that enclisis obtains whenever the verb occurs in clause-initial position. Thus, in the case of focus fronting in (58b), proclisis invariably obtains, since the verb (raised to C-Fin under V2) occurs in second position preceded by a fronted constituent in the *Focus* field. However, whenever the topicalization space hosts a hanging topic or a left-dislocated constituent and the *Focus* field remains empty (cf. 58), only enclisis is possible, because the verb now raised to C-Fin technically occurs in clause-initial position, inasmuch as elements contained within the *Topic* space are extra-sentential and hence prove invisible to the computation of the Tobler–Mussafia generalization. In short, we interpret the observed proclisis–enclisis alternation as a side-effect of V2 fed by verb raising to C-Fin, which creates either a V1 structure and enclisis with no fronting to the *Focus* field or a V2 structure and proclisis with fronting to the *Focus* field. Robust evidence like this demonstrates that topicalized and focused constituents indeed target distinct spaces within the left periphery, forcing us to recognize a representation of the C-domain along the lines of (59) below:

- 59 [_{CP} Comp [_{TopP} Top [_{FocP} Foc [_{TP}...]]]]

4.1.2 *Internal structure of Topic and Focus fields*

4.1.2.1 *The Focus field* The evidence of Italian and other Romance languages suggests the existence of, at most, a single focus position specialized in licensing contrastively focused interpretations (typically correcting a previous assertion). While it is true that some dialects such as Turinese appear, on a par with French, not to license any left-peripheral focus position (cf. 60a; Paoli 2003a), most northern dialects pattern with Italian in this respect. However, the further one moves south, the more accessible the *Focus* field becomes, such that in many southern dialects, notably Sicilian (Bentley 2007; Cruschina this volume), as well as in Sardinian (Mensching and Remberger this volume) and, quite exceptionally among the northern dialects, Triestino (Paoli this volume), the *Focus* field also licenses non-contrastively focused constituents, as illustrated by the Sicilian examples in (60b–c):

- 60** a (*IL GELATO) a l' ha catà IL GELATO, nen la torta
 the ice-cream scl= has bought the ice-cream not the cake
 'It is the ice-cream that he bought, not the cake'
- b A SALVU i chiavi i detti
 to Salvu the keys them= I-gave
 'It was Salvu I gave the keys to'
- (Sic., Cruschina this volume)
- c A cu i dasti i chiavi? A Salvu i detti
 to who them= you-gave the keys to Salvu them= I-gave
 'Who did you give the keys to? I gave them to Salvu'
- (Sic., Cruschina this volume)

Although the contrastive and informational foci in (60b–c) might appear to move to the same left-peripheral position, as suggested by the fact that they can never co-occur, there are good reasons to believe that they target distinct positions. More specifically, we can view the *Focus* space as a hierarchically structured field, articulated from left to right into the subfields of *Contrastive Focus* (CFoc) and *Informational Focus* (IFoc) which provide dedicated positions for contrastively and informationally focused constituents (see also Benincà 2003: 238–9; Rizzi 1997; Kiss 1998; Belletti 2001a; 2004a; Benincà and Poletto 2004; Cruschina 2008: ch. 3). This distinction is supported, among other things, by the observation that in those dialects that display both types of foci, only contrastive focus, but not informational focus, is compatible with embedded contexts (see, this volume, Cruschina §3.3; Paoli §3.1), witness the Triestino contrast in (61a–c):

- 61** a (DA MONTI) se pensava che (DA MONTI) i gavessi meio roba,
 at Monti self= thought that at Monti scl.3pl.= had better stuff
 no al'Emporio
 not at-the-Emporio
 'It is AT MONTI's that we thought they had better things, not at the Emporio'

- b **Una pelicia** me preoccupa che (?**una pelicia**) la se cioghi
 a fur me= worries that a fur scl.3f.sg.= self= buys
 'I'm worried that she will buy herself a fur coat'

Similarly, in these same varieties strict adjacency between the verb and the focused constituent is required only in the case of the lower informational focus position (see, this volume, Cruschina §3.1; Mensching and Remberger §4.1; Paoli §4), as revealed by the following Sardinian contrast (taken from Cruschina 2008: ch. 3):

- 62 a **SOS DURCHES**, a su pitzinnu appo comporadu, no sos puliches
 the sweets to the child I-have bought not the fleas
 'I bought sweets for the child, not fleas'
- b ***Retzidu** dae Predù as su regalu?
 received from Predù you-have the gift
 'Did you receive the gift from Predù?'

This same lower focus position also appears to be involved in hosting (non-D-linked) *wh*-interrogatives, since these too require strict adjacency with their associated inflected verb (Munaro, this volume, §2):¹⁸

- 63 Al marcà **quanti libri** (*al marcà) avé-o comprà?
 at-the market how-many books at-the market have=2scl.2pl. bought?
 'At the market, how many books did you buy?' (Bell.)

As subfields, however, even CFoc and IFoc can be further dissected to reveal additional positions within these spaces. For example, following Poletto and Zanuttini (2000), Benincà and Poletto (2004: 61) note in the Rhaeto-Romance V2 dialect of S. Leonardo (BZ) a differential licensing of contrastively focalized constituents in embedded contexts. More specifically, in complements to non-bridge verbs only circumstantial and quantificational adverbs such as *da trai* 'sometimes' can be fronted under contrastive focus (cf. 64a), whereas other adverbial types such as *d sigy* 'for sure' (cf. 64b) and other categories such as objects like *l giat* 'the cat' prove ungrammatical (cf. 64c):

- 64 a Al s cruzie c **DA TRAI** l a-al odù
 he is worried that sometimes him= has-he seen
 'He is worried because he saw him sometimes'

¹⁸ As demonstrated in Munaro (this volume, §2), these same *wh*-interrogatives target the specifier of the higher ForceP projection when employed in exclamatives; witness their position to the left of clitic left-dislocated topics:

- i *Che bel liber*, a la tua surèla, che gh' àn regalà!
 what fine book to the your sister that to-her= they-have given
 'What an interesting book they've given your sister as a present!' (Mil.)

- b *Al s cruzie c D SIGY mang-ela a ciasa
 he is worried that for sure eats-she at home
 'He is worried because she is going to eat at home for sure'
- c *Al s cruzie c L GIAT a-al odù
 he is worried that the cat has-he seen
 'He is worried that it was the cat he has seen'

Under the usual assumption that non-bridge verbs do not select a full CP layer, the contrast in (64a) vs (64b–c) follows straightforwardly: the CP space is pruned below the focus projection(s) which license the contrastive reading of particular adverb classes and objects, but retains the lower focus projection(s) responsible for licensing the contrastive reading of circumstantial and quantificational adverbs.

A similar split within the IFoc space is evidenced by the behaviour of indefinite quantifiers (Benincà and Poletto 2004: 62–3; Cruschina 2008: ch. 3, §3.5.1). Although not all dialects permit fronting of informationally new, non-contrastive constituents (cf. 65a), many varieties do readily allow fronting of indefinite quantifiers even in the absence of a contrastive reading (cf. 65b):

- 65 a Cchi ti bu mangià? – (*Nu milu) Mi mangiu nu milu
 what yourself= you-want eat.inf. an apple myself= I-eat an apple
 'What do you want to eat? – I'll eat an apple' (Cos.)
- b 'Ngunacosa m' aja mancià
 something myself= I-must eat.inf.
 'I must eat something' (Cos.)
- c Criju ca 'ngunacosa cci addi essa
 I-believe that something there has be.inf.
 'I think that there must be something' (Cos.)

Just like other foci, fronted indefinite quantifiers such as *'ngunacosa* in (65b) prove incompatible with clitic resumption and on a par with informational focus, but, unlike contrastive focus, must stand strictly adjacent to the verb. However, the contrast in grammaticality of informational focus fronting and quantifier fronting in varieties like Cosentino evidenced in (65a–b)¹⁹ – widely attested in many other varieties, including northern Italian dialects where bare quantifiers in subject function always target the *Focus* field – suggests that non-contrastive focus should be dissected into at least two distinct positions. Indeed, this splitting of the non-contrastive focus space is further substantiated by

¹⁹ Although irrelevant to the present discussion, it should be noted that (65a), with fronting of the direct object, is grammatical under the marked 'mirative' reading (Cruschina 2008: chs. 2, 3) expressing, typically in exclamatives, such nuances as disbelief and surprise, roughly paraphrasable in this case as 'I'll eat an apple, of course, what else do you expect me to eat?' While this reading is also available in varieties like Sicilian, the latter also permits a purely, unmarked informational reading (namely, 'I'll eat an apple'), not available in Cosentino.

68 a Iu 'a ciucculata non mi piaci
I the chocolate not me= pleases
'I don't like chocolate' (Reg.)

- b Io 'a quanno è muorto pàteto me staie ntussecanno 'a vita mia!
 I from when is died father=my me= you-are poisoning the life my
 'Since my dad died, you've been poisoning my life!'(Nap.)

As for scene-setting adverbs, their position within the higher portion of the left periphery finds support in the V2 variety of S. Leonardo (BZ) considered in (64) above (Benincà and Poletto 2004: 66). Whereas in root clauses a scene-setting adverb such as the temporal *duman* 'tomorrow' proves entirely grammatical when fronted under topicalization or contrastive focus (cf. 69a), this is not the case for the topicalized reading in embedded clauses (cf. 69b), even when selected by a bridge verb, an observation that suggests the top 'frame' layer of the CP has been pruned in these cases, since its semantics is fundamentally incompatible with the informational structure of subordination:

- 69 a Duman / DUMAN va-al a Venezia
 tomorrow / TOMORROW goes-he to Venice
- b Al m a dit c *duman / DUMAN va-al a Venezia
 he me= has told that tomorrow / TOMORROW goes-he to Venice
 '(He told me that) he is going to Venice tomorrow'

Turning now to the *Theme* subfield, here too we need to recognize several subtypes of thematicized constituent, the number of which, unlike topic elements occurring in the *Frame* subfield, is in principle unrestricted, although subject to the pragmatic intentions of the speaker to repeat or re-establish particular anaphoric constituents of the previous discourse or to introduce cognitively accessible referents considered to form part of the interlocutors' shared knowledge. Syntactically, all elements occurring in the *Theme* subfield are generally referenced by a resumptive clitic pronoun, where available, constituting a case of clitic left-dislocation (CLLD; Cinque 1990):

- 70 Mario, na casa, no l la compra
 Mario a house not scl= it= buys
 'Mario is not going to buy a house'

(Pad., Benincà and Poletto 2004)

As for the topic types occurring in *Theme*, there is no consensus as to the number of distinct positions involved and their precise pragmatic interpretations (for an overview, see Benincà and Poletto 2004: 64–70; Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007; Cruschina 2008: ch. 1, §1.5). A broad distinction between *aboutness topics* (ATop) and all other types of (clitic) left-dislocated topics (sometimes termed *referential* or *familiarity topics*) is, however, widely recognized. The former represent what the (categorical) sentence is about, thus standardly equated with the subject of predication and hence limited to a single occurrence per clause and the preverbal position, whereas the latter re-establish contextually given referents belonging to the previous discourse, hence optional

and unlimited in number and occurring in both pre- and postverbal position.²⁰ As a general principle, then, aboutness topics precede all other topic elements in the *Theme* field, as witnessed by the order of clitic left-dislocated subject and object in the Paduan example in (70).

In many varieties, these different topic categories are distinctly marked. For instance, Ledgeway (in press) demonstrates that, as part of a topic-announcing or topic-shifting strategy, the aboutness topic in Campanian dialects is encoded by a doubling distal demonstrative *chillo* 'that-one' (cf. 71a), whereas Cruschina (2006; 2008: ch. 1, §2.1) proposes for Sicilian a strict principle of Syntactic Extraposition (SE), which requires all [-focus] constituents to be obligatorily dislocated to dedicated functional positions (cf. 71b):

- 71 a Chillo, San Pietro, 'o tuzzuliaie rint' 'e scianche, a Gesù
that-one.m. Saint Peter.m. him= tapped in the hips, to Jesus
'Saint Peter tapped Jesus on his hip'
(Brezza, Grazzanise, CE)
- b A Maria ci dissi ca pitrusinu n' u jardu un ci nn' avi
to Maria to-her= I-said that parsley in the garden not there= of-it= she-has
a chiantari
to plant.inf.
'I told Maria not to plant parsley in the garden'
(Cruschina 2008)

Putting together the results of our discussion so far, the richly articulated functional structure of the left periphery can be represented schematically as in (72):

- 72 [CP Comp {Topic [FrameP1 HT [FrameP2 Adv_{sc.-set}· [ThemeP1 ATop [ThemeP2 CILD {Focus
[CFocP1 Obj/Adv [CFocP2 Adv_{circum./quant}· [IFocP1 Indef-Q [IFocP2 IFoc [TP...]]]]]]]]]]]

4.3 Force, Finiteness and other projections

Finally, we note that the *Topic* and *Focus* fields outlined above are, in turn, closed off upwards by a complementizer position *Force* marking the illocutionary force of the clause, hosting such items as the southern Calabrian and Salentino finite declarative/epistemic complementizer (QU(1)A >) *ca* (cf. 73a–b, 74a–b), and downwards by a complementizer position *Fin(iteness)* specifying the modality and/or finiteness of the clause, hosting such items as the southern Calabrian and Salentino irrealis complementizers (MODO >) *mi* / *mu* and (QUOD >) *cu* (cf. 73c–d, 74c–d).²¹

²⁰ On the existence of a further position within the *Theme* subfield hosting left-dislocated topics with a 'List Interpretation', see Benincà and Poletto (2004: §3.3).

²¹ For further discussion of the position and distribution of dual complementizers in the dialects of the extreme South, see Calabrese (1993), Ledgeway (1998; 2003b; 2005), Damonte (2002; 2006a), Roberts and Roussou (2003: §3.2), Manzini and Savoia (2005, I: 455–501, 650–76), Hart (2006; 2007; in press) and Vecchio (this volume).

- 73 a Nci dissi *ca*, nta dda casa, non ci vai chiùni
to-him= I-said that in that house, not there= he-goes more
'I said that he doesn't go to that house any more' (Reg.)
- b V' assicuru *ca* NA BELLIZZA CUMPAGNA, non si trova
'you= I-assure that a beauty companion not self= finds
'I assure you that you'll never find such a beauty' (Reg.)
- c Spittava 'a carbunella *mi* sbrasciava
he-waited the coal that was-incandescent
'He waited for the coal to glow brightly' (Reg.)
- d Falli celati e **nudhu** *mu* ti vidi
do-them hidden and nobody that you= sees
'Do them secretly and such that nobody sees you'

(Radicena, RC)

- 74 a Addžu tittu *ka* la Lia ene
I-have said that the Lia comes
'I said that Lia is coming'
- b Addžu tittu *ka* KRAI ene
I-have said that tomorrow she-comes
'I said that it's tomorrow that she is coming'
- c Oyyu lu libbru *ku* lu kkatta lu Maryu
I-want the book that it= buys the Mario
'I want Mario to buy the book'
- d Oyyu KRAI *ku* bbene lu Maryu
I-want TOMORROW that comes the Mario
'I want Mario to come tomorrow'

Further compelling evidence for these two complementizer positions comes from those varieties which allow the simultaneous lexicalization of both positions around a fronted topic or focus constituent, including Ligurian (cf. 75a; Paoli 2002; 2003a, b; 2005) and many early southern Italian varieties (cf. 75b–d; Ledgeway 2003b: §4.3.2.2; 2005: 380–9).²²

- 75 a A Teeja a credda *che* a Maria *ch'* a parta duman
the Teresa scl believes that the Mary that scl leaves tomorrow
'Teresa believes that Mary will leave tomorrow' (Lig.)
- b Et èy manifesta cosa *che* homo che se ave a defendere a la patria soa intre li
amici e li canussienti suoy *cha* ave a chesta parte gran prerogativa e gran
avantayo

²² In the following early southern examples we do not provide glosses, the English translations reflecting (albeit somewhat unnaturally) the surface realizations of the two complementizers in the original sentences.

'And it is abundantly clear that (*che*), a man who has to defend himself in his own country among his friends and acquaintances, that (*cha*) he has in this respect considerable privilege and advantage'

(Nap., *Libro de la destructione de Troya*, fourteenth century, 126.2–4)

- c Et ancora li mandao a dire lo re *che* si li volia obedire alli sua comandamenti, *ca* li perdonara omne cosa
'And again the king had word sent to him that (*che*), if he wished to obey his orders, that (*ca*) he would forgive him everything'
(Sal., *Il libro di Sidrac salentino*, fifteenth century, 2v.38–9)

- d È da sape(re) *ch(e)* lu cavallo b(e)n et diligentem(en)te custodito et a(m)modato cavalcato, cosi como se (con)vè, *ch(e)* illo no(n) sia fatigato de grande et sup(er)flua travaglia
'It is to be noted that (*che*), a horse (which is) well and attentively cared for and properly ridden in accordance with good practice, that (*che*) it should not be overburdened with too much unnecessary work'

(Laz., *Volgarizzamento della 'Mascalcia'* di Lorenzo Rusio, fifteenth century, 158.27–9)

A not too dissimilar distribution of the two complementizers is found in many modern Salentino varieties (Damonte 2006a; Vecchio this volume), where the lower irrealis complementizer *cu* is replaced by the higher complementizer *ca* whenever the left periphery hosts a fronted constituent, as the following examples from Francavilla Fontana (BR, Vecchio this volume) illustrate:

- 76 a Vogghiu (*Carlu) *cu* (*Ccarlu) vveni cu nnui, Carlu
I-want Carlu that Carlu comes with us Carlu
b Vogghiu (*Carlu,) *ca* Carlu, veni cu nnui
I-want Carlu that Carlu comes with us
'I want Carlo to come with us'

The postulation of the higher and lower complementizer positions also provides an elegant explanation for cases of embedded V2, which in the simple CP model were difficult to accommodate without reference to *ad hoc* assumptions such as the reinterpretation of V2 as V-to-I movement (Santorini 1995; Vikner 1995: §4.2.1) or CP recursion (Authier 1992; Vickner 1995; Vance 1997: ch. 4). Now, within the split C-model the co-occurrence of an overt complementizer and the raised finite verb can be viewed as the simultaneous lexicalizations of the *Force* and *Fin* heads, respectively (Ledgeway 2007: 139–40; 2008: 458–61), as in the Old Neapolitan example in (77):

- 77 resoltande certa speranza [_{ForceP} *che* [_{TopP} lo re Priamo [_{FinP}
emerged=therefrom certain hope that the king Priamus
poterrà
will-be-able
[_{TP} nde recoperare la soro soa]]]] (102.26)
=therefrom to-recover the sister his

‘therefrom has come certain hope that King Priamus will be able to rescue his sister from there’

(Nap., *Libro de la destructione de Troya*, fourteenth century, 102.26)

In the literature, many other projections and positions have been proposed in investigations of the left periphery of the dialects, including, among others, a projection situated below ForceP but higher than FocP (presumably to be identified with Rizzi’s (2001) IntP) dedicated to marking interrogative force, whose head is variously lexicalized by Florentine *o(cche)* (cf. 78a; Garzonio 2004) and central-southern dialectal *che/chi/ce* (cf. 78b; Cruschina 2008: ch. 5; see also Rohlfs 1969: 157–9; Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: §3.8.2). In northern Italian dialects, by contrast, interrogative force is licensed by FocP (Munaro, this volume, §6), either through V-raising to Foc (cf. 78c) or through lexicalization of the same with the complementizer *che/cha* (cf. 78d). A not too dissimilar situation is found in Sardinian (cf. 78e), where in polar interrogatives the head of FocP is lexicalized by the particle (AUT >) *a* (Jones 1993: 244ff.; Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 610–11; Mensching and Remberger in press).

- 78 a *O a casa quando tu ci vòì tornare?*
 int. to home when you there want return.inf.
 ‘Home, when do you intend to return?’

- b *Ce sta cchiovì?*
 int. prog. it-rains
 ‘Is it raining?’

(Sal., Rohlfs 1969: 158)

- c *Se an-o fat?*
 what have=scl.3pl. done
 ‘What did they do?’

(Palmanova, UD)

- d *Cosa cha r’ ha fait?*
 what that scl.3sg.= has done
 ‘What has he done?’

(Poirino, TO)

- e *A kere vénnerè a domo mea?*
 int. wants come.fin. to house my
 ‘Do you want to come to my house?’

(Jones 1993: 25)

Finally, mention should be made of other clause typing projections such as those recently discussed in Munaro (2004). On the evidence of northern Italian dialects and Italian, Munaro demonstrates that the clausal adjuncts of conditional clauses raise to a specifier of the matrix C-domain in order to enter a local relation with a particular *Force* projection, including *Hyp(othetical)P* (cf. 79a) and *Conc(essive)P* (cf. 79b):

- 79 a [HypP [fùsselo vegnùo anca Mario]_i] [TopP [FocP [FinP [TP gavaressimo
were=he come also Mario we-would-have
podùo dirghelo...t_i]]]]]!
been-able say.inf.=to-him=it
'If Mario had come as well, we would have been able to tell him' (Pad.)
- b [ConcP [sedi-al rivat o no sedi-al rivat]_i] [HypP [TopP [FocP [FinP [TP jo o
be=scl arrived or not be=scl arrived I scl
voi vie istés...t_i]]]]]]
go away same
'Whether he has arrived or not, I am leaving all the same' (Friul.)

On this view, *Force* can be reconceived as a field which, according to Munaro, consists of as many as four distinct clause typing projections sandwiched between the *Frame* and *Theme* subfields,²³ namely *ConcP* > *HypP* > *Excl(ative)P* > *IntP*, the order of which is held to mirror from right to left an increasing degree of assertive force.²⁴

²³ Munaro shows that fronted clausal adjuncts of conditional clauses may be preceded by hanging topics (cf. i.a), although in southern Italian dialects (though not in Italian; cf. Benincà and Poletto 2004: 74 n. 13; Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 525) hanging topics follow *Force* complementizers (cf. i.b):

- i a Mario, *ci avessero telefonato (o meno)*, avremmo dovuto dirglielo
Mario us= they-had phoned or not we-would-have had-to tell.inf.=to-him=it
'Mario, whether they had rung us or not, we ought to have told him'
- b Avisandove *che la do(n)na le rencessie essere femmena*
tell ger.=you that the lady to-her= it-displeases be.inf. woman
'Informing you that the lady regrets being a woman'
(Nap., *De Rosa*, fifteenth century, id. 51v.18)

One possible solution to this problem is to assume that the different clause typing projections proposed by Munaro are partly interspersed within the *Frame* subfield, with *ConcP* and *HypP* situated to the right of *FrameP* (hosting hanging topics), whereas the default *Force* projection (call it *DeclP*) licensing declarative complementizers is situated to its left:

- ii [DeclP *che* [FrameP HT [ConcP *whether*-clause [HypP *if*-clause [ExclP ...

²⁴ The content of *ExclP* may be overtly lexicalized in a number of varieties, including the 3rd person tonic personal pronouns *lu* in Paduan (cf. i.a; Benincà 1996) and *iddu* in many Calabrian and Sicilian varieties (cf. i.b; Ledgeway 2003c: §2.3).

- i a a xe beo *lu!*
scl is nice he
'It's really nice!'
- b ca *iddu* ti spagni!
that he yourself= you-frighten
'You'll be frightened!' (Catanz.)

In the former case, it is necessary to assume remnant movement of the core sentence to SpecExclP (or perhaps to the specifier of some higher position), whereas in the Catanzarese example the highest *Force* head is simultaneously lexicalized by the declarative complementizer *ca* 'that'.

80 [DeclP *che / c(h)a*] [FrameP1 HT] [FrameP2 Adv_c-set-] [ConcP *whether*-clause] [HypP *if*-
 clause] [ExclP *lu / iddu*] [ThemeP1 ATop] [ThemeP2 CILD] [IntP *o / c(h)e*] [CFocP1 Obj/Adv
 [CFocP2 Adv_{circum./quant.}] [IFocP1 Indef-Q] [IFocP2 IFoc] [FinP *mi / cu*] [TP ...]]]

Part I

Nominal structures

1 Headless relatives in some Old Italian varieties

Paola Benincà

1. Introduction

As shown in Benincà and Cinque (in press), Old Italian had a system of *wh*-pronouns with case distinctions which has been lost in Modern Italian. An examination of *wh*-pronouns in Early Florentine relative clauses and, particularly, of headless relatives (HR) allows us to understand some interesting characteristics of this construction, which are worth comparing with other early and modern varieties of Italian.¹ The literature on relative clauses in general and on HR, in particular, is vast;² as space is very restricted, I present here a merely descriptive account, leaving other comparisons (especially with English) and a theoretical discussion for future work.

For HR, I assume an essential structure, adapted from Cinque (2003), which, in its simplicity, is compatible with the classic model based on Chomsky (1977) and incorporates the theory of silent elements of Kayne (2005a):

- 1 [DP _i [CP who THAT you saw]]
[DP _i [CP what THAT you saw]]

This representation takes sides with respect to the much-debated problem of the location of the *wh*-pronoun and the ‘emptiness’ of the DP head: the *wh*-pronoun is in a SpecCP and the antecedent is empty (the other possibility, with a *wh*-pronoun as the head of DP, is represented by particular types of HR, as convincingly shown by Battye 1989).

¹ Parts of this chapter have been presented at the Bristol *Incontro di dialettologia Italiana* in 2003 and at the *First Cambridge Italian Dialect Syntax Meeting*; I thank participants for comments, Guglielmo Cinque, Mair Parry and Christoph Schwarze, who read and commented on previous drafts, and an anonymous reviewer for pointing out some inadequacies. All remaining faults are my own. Examples appear with translations only when glosses prove insufficient. Most of the Old Italian data are from the *OVI* data-base (*Opera del Vocabolario Italiano*: www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/).

² For a detailed bibliography, see Caponigro (2003), where many issues are discussed, even though the work is centred on the semantic interpretation of HR.

1.1. The Florentine *wh*-pronoun system

In the system of Old Florentine, case distinctions on *wh*-pronouns still apply and the paradigm is richer in forms and conditions than in Modern Italian. More specifically, relative *che* in Modern Italian is a pure complementizer (just like English *that* and French *que*), while it is still a pronoun in Old Florentine (although a complementizer in other contexts), as shown by the fact that it can be the complement of a preposition (cf. 2a), in which case it only appears with an inanimate ([-an.]) antecedent.

- 2 a le cose generali di che l'uomo può esser lodato o biasimato
 the things general **of which** the-man can be praised or blamed
 'the general things a man can be praised or blamed for'

(*Fiore di rettorica*, p. 100)

- b uno bastone **con che** s' apogiava
 a stick **with which** self = he-supported

(*Fiore di filosofia*, p. 126)

- c a grande sollicitudine **in che stavano** i romani
 the great worry **in which stood** the Romans

(Bono Giamboni, *Orosio*, p. 269)

As a [-an.] pronoun, interrogative *che* does not display any case distinctions (as with the corresponding Latin neuter pronoun). The [+hum.] interrogative *chi*,³ which in Modern Italian is compatible with all cases, is instead only nominative in Old Florentine; both *che* and *chi* are used in HR. This class of relative clauses frequently borrows its pronouns from the interrogative paradigm and, in some systems, passes them to all relative clauses. Interrogative *che* in Old Florentine occurs in both headed and headless relatives. It seems to have gone further than *chi* in this process, which was abandoned in Italian, since *che* as a pronoun is only interrogative.

³ Note that the semantic features characterizing *wh*-pronouns are polarized between [+hum.] on the one hand and [-an.] on the other. In other words, there is no evidence for the relevance of a [+an., -hum.] feature configuration for *wh*-elements. This fact also holds true for deictic and anaphoric pronouns: there are no pronouns referring to animals as distinct entities with respect to human beings on the one hand and objects on the other.

As pointed out by Hans Obenauer (p.c.), while other pronouns are currently marked by positive features, such as [+hum.], [+local], [+manner], the animacy feature is the only one which is negatively marked, namely [-an.]. This state of affairs should probably lead us to reconsider the feature system; on the other hand, it seems consistent with the particular 'weakness' of interrogative 'what' (see Obenauer 1994; Benincà and Poletto 2005). Adopting descriptive and theoretical devices such as Kayne's (2005a) 'silent elements', the structure in (1) would be (as in Cinque 2003) as follows:

i [DP PERSON [who THAT you saw]]
 [DP THING [what THAT you saw]]

We observe, then, that it is possible to have a silent THING and a silent PERSON, but not a silent *ANIMAL.

Interrogative and relative *cui* has functional specializations that depend on the immediate context; generalizations appear to be well grounded, but their synchronic or diachronic reasons are, for the moment, quite obscure. Relative *cui* bears a [+hum.] feature and accusative case (direct object of a transitive verb); it appears both in headed and headless relatives, as in the following examples:

- 3 a **Cui** la podestade à dannato, ... assolveremo noi per nostra
whom the authorities have condemned, will-acquit we through our
 sentenza?
 sentence?

(*Fiore di rettorica*, p. 11)

- b così avea ella conceputo d' uccidere me e le mie sorelle, **cui** ella avea
 so had she conceived of kill.inf. me and the my sisters, **whom** she had
 ingenerate di suo corpo
 generated of her body

(Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, p. 137)

On the other hand, *cui* with pied-piping of a DP in conjunction with the definite article functions as a genitive; it proves insensitive to semantic features. I have found examples only in headed relatives and interrogatives:

- 4 a Or di, Teverone: ... **il cui** fianco domandava la spada tua?
 Now tell, Teverone, **whose** side was-questioning the sword your?
 (Brunetto Latini, *Pro Ligario*, p. 174)

- b una torre ..., **la cui** vetta era iguale colla fonte
 a tower **whose** summit was equal with-the spring
 (Bono Giamboni, *Orosio*, p. 381)

Genitive *cui* without the article, however, appears to be only compatible with [+hum.] antecedents:

- 5 a I Veniziani, **cui** fue la nave, raddomandavano la nave o la valenza
 the Venetians, **whose** was the ship, asked-for the ship or the value
 (Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, p. 111)]

- b quando m' apparve Amor subitamente, **cui** essenza membrar
 when to-me= appeared Love suddenly, **whose** essence remember.inf.
 mi dà orrore
 to-me= gives horror

(Dante, *Vita Nuova*, p. 15)

Finally, *cui* is quite frequently used as the object of a preposition; if it occurs in a headed relative, it is insensitive to the semantic characterization of the antecedent (cf. 6a–b); in HR (cf. 6c) as well as in interrogatives (cf. 6d), by contrast, (P) + *cui* can only refer to a [+hum.] antecedent:

- 6 a Questa gentilissima donna, **di cui** ragionato è ne le precedenti parole
 this very-gentle woman, **of whom** reasoned is in the preceding words
 (Dante, *Vita nuova*, cap. 26, 1, p. 116)
- b Per ciò che la filosofia è la radice **di cui** crescono tutte le
 because that the philosophy is the root **from which** grow all the
 scienze che uomo puote sapere
 sciences that man can know
 (*Tesoro volg.*, p. 6)
- c Con maggiore istudio è da guardare **con cui** l'uomo mangi che
 with more attention is from consider.inf. **with whom** the-man eats than
quello che l'uomo manuca
that what the-man eats
 (*Fiori di filosafi*, p. 133)
- d **Per cui** t' ha così distrutto questo Amore?
 for whom you= has so destroyed this Love?
 'Because of whom has Love destroyed you in this way?'
 (Dante, *Vita nuova*, cap. 4, 3, p. 17)

We can summarize a few conclusions from the observations made so far: (1) in Old Florentine *che* is still a *wh*-pronoun with [-an.] reference and with no morphological case distinctions; (2) as a complementizer, *che* is free to occur in headed relatives with any kind of antecedent; (3) *chi* is only a nominative [+hum.] pronoun, appearing only in interrogatives and HR; (4) the [+hum.] direct object *cui* is only found in interrogatives and HR; (5) *cui* is also the unmarked pronoun governed by prepositions.

The main characteristics of Old Florentine HR appear in the following examples, taken from the late thirteenth-century *Proverbi* by Garzo, a text particularly rich in this construction:

- 7 a Villania **in cui** regna, cortesia lo disdegna.
 villainy **in whom** reigns courtesy him disdains
 'Courtesy disdains those in whom villainy reigns'
- b Cercando s' affatica **cui** povertà notrica.
 begging himself= tires **whom** poverty feeds
 'He who is fed by poverty tires himself begging'
- c Tosto si prende **chi** non si difende
 fast is-caught **who** not himself= defends
 'He who does not defend himself is easily caught'

There is no requirement for case matching or case non-distinction between the zero head and the *wh*-pronoun: in particular, in (7a) the missing head should bear accusative case (or a 'hanging' nominative attributed to an HT), while the *wh*-pronoun is a PP; in (7b) the missing head is the nominative subject of the

2. Northern Italian systems

We have seen that in the Old Florentine system the semantic distinction [+hum./-an.] combines with the marking of [+/-nom.] case. In Italy, another system is well documented, which we shall call the north-western system (see Parry 2007a), which marks a distinction between two different forms of the complementizer, depending on whether or not it locally governs a nominative *wh*-trace. Ideally, we have a complementizer *qui* that introduces relatives on the subject, and a complementizer *que* for all the other types of relative; this corresponds to the well-known French system first analysed by Kayne (1976). Despite the *que/qui* alternation, we still have here a complementizer and not a pronoun, as this alternation does not involve any semantic feature of the antecedent, unlike the *que/qui* alternation of pronouns in Florentine and Romance in general, where *qui* (or phonologically related forms and orthographical variants) is the [+hum.] pronoun and *que* the [-an.] pronoun. The following examples, discussed by Parry (2007a), illustrate the north-western system with respect to *qui* with both kinds of semantic antecedent in relatives on the subject (sentences (8) are Ligurian, (9) Piedmontese):

- 8 a quella santa imperarixe **chi** de lo mundo è guiarixe
that holy empress **that** of the world is leader
(*Anonimo Genovese*, p. 98)
- b Pero, monte cosse pairem bunne **chi** no sum
Peter, many things seem good **that** not are
(*DSGL*, p. 101)
- 9 a lo son criator, **qui** l' avea crià del limun de la terra
the his creator **that** him= had created of-the mud of the earth
(*Sermoni subalpini*, p. 220)
- b Aquela lei fo donà a cel temp **qui** adunc era, e era figura de la
that law was given to that time **that** then was, and was figure of the
novela **que** Christ fis e comandè, **qui** est plus proveitavol e meillor
new-one **that** Christ made and ordered, **which** is more useful and better
(*ibid.*, p. 252)

The system is very consistent, with an abundance of relevant examples. Nevertheless, traces of interference with the previous system do occur, since we find cases of P + *cui* for [+hum.] antecedents (and, with loss of the case distinction, also various examples of P + *qui*, as in other systems (see below)) alongside P + *que* for [-an.] antecedents, as well as *que* introducing a relative on the subject, again with a [-an.] antecedent (typically the phrase *zo que* ‘that which’ in the Piedmontese *Sermoni*):⁴

- 10 a quel pan **de que** l’arma vif
that bread **of which** the-soul lives
(*Sermoni subalpini*, p. 236)

- b la parola de Deu **a cui** se sun rendù
the word of God **to whom** selves= are surrendered
(*ibid.*, p. 250)

As expected, HR always have *qui* for [+hum.] and *que* for [-an.] antecedents. In this system too, the HR employs *wh*-pronouns from the interrogative paradigm:

- 11 a **Qui** aquest principal Esperit po aver en si, tot Daminèdè ... à
(he) **who** this principal Spirit can have.inf. in himself, all God has
en sa bailia
in his power
(*Sermoni subalpini*, p. 260)

- b non ai **de que** lo possa reemer
not I-have **of which** him= I-can ransom.inf.
‘I don’t have anything with which I can ransom him’
(*ibid.*, p. 13)

Parry (2007a) shows that the possessive *cui* ‘whose’ in the construction without the article in Ligurian and Piedmontese is limited to [+hum.] reference, exactly as we saw to be the case in Old Florentine (cf. 5):

- 12 a so ser, **cui** bailia el tenea, s’irò cum lui
his master, **whose** authority he held, became-angry with him
(*Sermoni subalpini*, p. 238)
- 13 l’amor de De’ cado te faza/ sote **cui** man tu dei caer
the-love of God warm you= make under **whose** hand you must fall.inf.
(*Anonimo Genovese*, p. 554)

⁴ A few cases with [+hum.] antecedents in fourteenth-century texts are reported in Parry (2007b).

2.2 Early Florentine and northern Italian

In comparison with other northern dialects, Old Florentine appears to be particularly regular in the use of the case system. Other varieties, even in the Tuscan area, are not as consistent. The following relatively early example (dated 1288) has *chi*, not *cui*, governed by a preposition in a restrictive relative:

- 14 'l re e 'l prenze die guardare come quelli **a chi** elli à date le
 the king and the prince must consider how those **to who** he has given the
 signorie e le dignità si portano
 seigniories and the dignities selves= behave
 (Volg. Egidio Romano, 1288, *Siena*, cap. 13)

The first signs of a slow weakening of *wh*-morphological case in Florentine appear much later: more than 250 occurrences of *di chi* from the thirteenth century to the end of the fourteenth century involve a preposition governing an HR in which *chi* is the subject. The system appears to be lost by the fifteenth century. The case system is not shared by other northern varieties, such as Venetan, in which *chi* is also used for a non-nominative form quite early on:

- 15 Pare, **de chi** è questo monestier?
 Father, **of who** is this monastery?
 (*Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, 1300, p. 92)

- 16 el qual non cura in man **de chi** sia el mondo
 who not cares in hand **of who** is the world
 'who does not care in whose hands the world is'
 (*Cronica deli imperadori*, 1301, p. 186)

Even a text as early as the Venetian *Proverbia* (twelfth century), where *qi* is exclusively nominative [+hum.] (230 examples), presents *cui* frequently misused as a nominative. The following passage illustrates a more interesting case of inconsistency:

- 17 Deu, quant è pro' e savio **qi** d' amarle refuçe! **cui** le
 God, how is bold and sage **who** from love.inf.=them shrinks! **Whom** them=
 ama, el desléguase com' la neve qe fluçe
 loves he melts=himself like the snow that thaws
 (*Proverbia que dicuntur*, p. 537)

Two HR, one after the other, both with a *wh*-pronoun that is the subject of the relative clause, display a nominative *wh*-pronoun in the first occurrence and a non-nominative *wh*-pronoun in the second. A syntactic difference between the two is that the second DP containing the HR is not in subject position, as it is resumed by a subject pronoun. Even if it were an HT, with a default

non-nominative case, the *wh*-pronoun, being the subject of the relative, should be nominative.

A Venetan-Tuscan example of *cui* in place of a nominative *wh*-pronoun, locally preceded by a preposition, is found in the following late (end of fourteenth century) example:

- 18 Et de ciò questi fono lieti per la veduta che lor feo, **de cui**
 and of this they were glad, for the view that to-them he-made **of whom**
 possede l'uno et l'altro trono
 possesses the-one and the-other throne
 'And they were happy because he showed them him who possesses both thrones'
 (Gradenigo, *Quatro Evangelii*, 1399, p. 301)

This is, more or less, the time when northern varieties begin to use non-nominative stressed personal pronouns as subjects (e.g. *mi*, *me* 'me' instead of *e* 'I', *ti*, *te* instead of *tu* 'you'). The process becomes established for personal pronouns, while *wh*-pronouns develop in the opposite direction, extending the use of nominative *chi* to non-nominative cases. However that may be, all these examples provide evidence that the case system is no longer working perfectly.

3. Headless relatives: some comparisons

As shown above, in Old Florentine an HR uses *wh*-pronouns that receive case from the verb of the relative clause. The first of the following examples, from Garzo's *Proverbi* (thirteenth century), shows very convincingly this property of the construction:

- 19 a Zappa *a* _ [**chi** la tiene] e spada *a* _ [**cui** s'aviene *t*]
 hoe to **who** it=has and sword to **whom** it=suits
 (Garzo, *Proverbi*, p. 313)
- b Lëaltade, _ **in cui** si truova, di fin pregio si rinnuova
 loyalty, in whom self= finds of fine merit self= enriches
 'He in whom loyalty is found is enriched with fine merit'
 (ibid., p. 304)

In the first clause of (19a), the *wh*-pronoun bears nominative, being the subject of the relative clause, while the preposition selected by the verb of the main clause governs the empty head (or the whole DP). In the second clause of (19a), the *wh*-pronoun bears object case because it is governed by the preposition, which is selected by the verb of the relative clause. In (19b), the zero antecedent of the relative clause is the subject of the main sentence, while the *wh*-pronoun is in a PP. Case matching between the *wh*-pronoun and the empty antecedent appears, then, not to be a requirement characterizing HR, but a constraint that is active in some languages and not in others. More specifically,

it was not so strong in Old Italian and Early Italian varieties as it has become subsequently in these languages. Some changes in the properties of *wh*-pronouns and in other aspects of these grammars have influenced this specific construction.⁵

In general, in northern and central varieties HR very frequently appear with an explicit antecedent realized through a demonstrative, as in example (20), from Pisa:

- 20 **quello di che** dubbiti non fare, et fugge **quello che** l'amico
that of which you-are-uncertain not do.inf. and avoid that which the-friend
 tuo ti negha
 your you= denies

(Albertano, *De amore*, 1287–8, L. II, 23)

This is the strategy adopted in Modern Italian to mark indefinite relatives, whether with a [-an.] or a [+hum.] antecedent: the demonstrative *quello* 'that' loses its deictic value and becomes the antecedent of an apparently restrictive relative (namely, *quello che* 'what(ever)', *quelli che* 'who(ever)').⁶

Many cases of HR structures in early varieties would be impossible in the corresponding modern varieties. The following are thirteenth-century examples of a PP relative pronoun with a zero antecedent that corresponds to the subject of the main clause:

⁵ The same happened in the history of English, as I hope to show in future work. This conclusion is relevant for Bresnan and Grimshaw's (1978) analysis, who argue that the *wh*-pronoun in HR is in fact the head of the HR precisely because of the case matching restrictions that can be observed in Modern English (see, for a critique, Groos and van Riemsdijk (1981), among others).

⁶ As noted above, [+hum.] object *cui* can only appear in interrogatives and HR, and not in restrictive relatives (where the complementizer *che* or *il quale*, are always used when the *wh*-pronoun is nominative or accusative). Apparently, there is a very interesting set of cases where *cui* seems to be the [+hum.] relative object pronoun in a restrictive relative:

- i a t' insegna Ovidio dove tu anderai ad eleggere [quella **cui** tu ami]
 you= teaches Ovidio where you will-go to choose.inf. that.f. **whom** you love
 'Ovidio teaches you where you can find a girl to love'

(*Arte d'amare di Ovidio volg.*, p. 222)

- b E fue sì benigno che [quelli **cui** elli sugiugava con arme],
 And he-was so benignant that those **whom** he subdued with arms,
 si vinceva con clemenzia e con benignità
 so he-defeated with mercifulness and with benignity

(*Flo.*, Fiori di filosafi, p. 1264, p. 150)

The interpretation is very clear: in (i.a), *quella cui tu ami* does not mean 'that girl whom you love' but 'a girl you can/will love'. All the cases I have found where the demonstrative is followed by *cui* referring to [+hum.] have this interpretation: an apparent restrictive relative, which has instead the value of an indefinite (headless) relative. This means that, despite their appearance, these structures preserve characteristics of HR triggering insertion of an interrogative *wh*-pronoun.

- 21 a con' male starà **di cui** mercé Dio non arà
 how bad (he)will-be **of whom** mercy God not will-have
 'he to whom God will not show mercy shall suffer'
 (Pis., *Quindici segni*, p. 256a)
- b Ora vegna a la danza ... **chi** spera in voi, Amore, e **di cui** lo
 Now come to the dance (he) **who** hopes in you, Love, and **of whom** the
 cor meo disia amanza
 heart my desires love
 (Aret., Guittone, *Rime*, canz. 50, p. 136)
- c **A cui** non si puote credere nonn ha cascione di parlare
 (he) **to whom** not one= can believe.inf. not has reason of talk.inf.
 'He in whom one cannot believe has no right to talk'
 (Flo., *Fiori di filosafi*, p. 199)

In the thirteenth-century examples that follow, both the zero antecedent and the *wh*-pronoun are PPs, normally identical in the two clauses, as can be seen from the insertions in the translations, apart from that of (22a), whose completion is not straightforward:

- 22 a nonn è senno tardare d' aprire lettera **a cui** è mandata
 not is sense delay.inf. of open.inf. letter to whom is sent
 'it is not sensible to delay opening a letter (**by the person**) **to whom** it is addressed'
 (Fiori di filosafi, p. 152)
- b entendança **a cui** no pos parlar
 listening to whom not I-can speak.inf.
 'listening (**to somebody**) **to whom** I cannot talk'
 (Ugo di Perso, *Rime*, p. 593)
- c co questa condision, che ... debiase dar per anema **de cui** ele fo
 with this condition that must=self give.inf. for soul of whom it was
 'under the condition that it must be given for (the salvation of the) soul
 (**of the person**) **of whom** it was'
 (Ven., *Cedola di Sofia da Riva*, 1319, p. 166)

The following passage from Dante's *Inferno* has been misunderstood for many centuries, as very convincingly demonstrated by Tavoni (2002); the main difficulty apparently was to correctly interpret the interrogative pronoun *cui* in the HR:⁷

- 23 colui c'attende là per qui mi mena / forse **cui** Guido vostro ebbe a
 he that=waits there for here me= leads perhaps who Guido your had to
 disdegno
 disdain
 'he that waits there this way leads me perhaps (**to a person**) **whom** your Guido
 scorned'
 (Dante, *Inferno*, 10, 62–3)

⁷ Tavoni (2002), combining philology and grammar in an admirable way, also demonstrates that the adverb *forse* 'perhaps' refers to the complement of the main predicate ('will lead me *perhaps* to...'), and not to the complement of the HR ('whom *perhaps* scorned'), as was generally assumed.

The antecedent of the HR (*cui...*) is a silent PP, which is the indirect object of the verb *mena* 'leads'; *cui* is the interrogative direct object [+hum.] pronoun governed by the verb phrase *ebbe a disdegno* 'scorned'. The relative above shows that antecedent and *wh*-phrase need not match for case in Old Italian. The following are examples of [-an.] reference HR, with a PP *wh*-pronoun and a PP zero antecedent:

- 24 a non è da blasmare omo che cade in mare - **a che** s' aprende
 not is by blame.inf. man that falls in sea to whom self= clings
 'a man that falls into the sea is not to be blamed (**for that**) **to which** he clings'
 (Tusc., Giacomo da Lentini, 1230–50, p. 14)
- b la femena ... **a ke** se converte tutta se converte
 the woman to which self= she-converts all self= converts
 'women convert completely to whatever they convert to'
 (central Italy, *Questioni filosofiche*, 1298, p. 127)

The cases shown above in (21)–(24) would be impossible in Modern Italian. The following examples correspond to structures admitted in Italian, where we have a zero antecedent corresponding to a direct object or an existential predicate, and a PP *wh*-pronoun:

- 25 a serve a De' se 'l à **de che** porze la copa
 he-serves to God if he has (something) **of which** offer.inf. the cup
 (*Anonimo Genovese* 1311, 44, cited in Parry 2007a)
- b amar lo bene di là dal qual non è **a che** s' aspiri,
 love.inf. the good beyond which not there-is (something) **to which** one= aspires
 (Dante, *Purgatorio*, 31, 22–4)
- c non ai **de que** lo possa reemer
 not I-have **of which** him= I-can ransom.inf.
 'I don't have anything with which I can ransom him'
 (*Sermoni subalpini*, p. 13)

It must be stressed that the [-an.] pronoun *che* in Florentine HR is only found for a restricted type of nominative, namely the predicate of a copular structure or the 'subject' of a psychological verb, as in the following passage:⁸

- 26 se vostra bonitate voi move, movavi **a che** vo' piacie
 if your goodness you moves, let-it-move=you to
 [**what** you pleases]
 (Aret., Guittone, *Lettere*, 1294, p. 428)

Even use of *che* in direct object function is not attested in the texts we have examined for Florentine (nor for other varieties), such that structures like **ti*

⁸ In interrogatives too *che* has similar restrictions (Munaro in press).

darò che vorrai ‘I will give you what you want’, **che è successo ha cambiato le cose* ‘what has happened has changed things’ are not attested.

3.1. *Resumptive pronouns*

Phrases containing an HR are sometimes copied by a resumptive pronoun (cf. 27a–b). Presumably, when the phrase containing the indefinite HR is copied by a pronoun, it is located in the left periphery as a Topic. (27b) is to be compared with example (27c) belonging to the same text, in which the preposed phrase containing a relative clause (a restrictive relative, in this case) has no pronominal copy:

- 27 a [**Di cu’** ella à ddunque paura], si **l’** avelena se puote
(the person) **of whom** she has then fear, so **him**= she-poisons if she-can
‘whom she fears, she poisons if she can’

(Flo., *Fiore di rettorica*, 1292, p. 14)

- b car **qui** fai siarement, **el** de ben saver e esgarder que el promet
for [**who** takes oath], **he** must well know and keep.inf. what he promises
(*Sermoni subalpini*, p. 237)

- c car **cel qui** recef lo sairement s’apensa ... en qual guisa el
for **that-one who** receives the oath thinks in which way he
lo poerea anteprendre
it=could fulfil.inf.

(*ibid.*, p. 237)

3.2. *HR and interrogatives*

An interesting aspect, which I have exploited in order to explain certain apparent exceptions to V2 restrictions in early Romance embedded sentences (see Benincà 2006), concerns the systematic ambiguity of HR and embedded interrogatives. Noordhof (1937) had underlined this fact, pointing out cases in which an embedded interrogative employs pronouns that are used for indefinite relatives (cf. *quello che* ‘that which’ in (28a)). I provide below also some sentences with an apparent embedded interrogative coordinated with an indefinite relative (cf. 28b–c):

- 28 a la dimandò, **quello ch’** ella avesse
her=he asked **that which** she had

(Flo., *Deca prima di Tito Livio*, p. B131)

- b egli è talora difficile e grave veder **ciò ch’** ave alchuno e **chi**
it is sometimes difficult and hard see.inf. that which has someone and who

è quello, **a che e come a ragion** si move ello
 is that-one to what and how to reason self= moves he
 'it is sometimes difficult and hard to see **that which** somebody has and **who** he
 is and **to what and for what reason** he moves'
 (Tusc., Fr. da Barberino, *Doc. Am.*, 1314, pt. 8, 1)

- c conoscere **che** siano li principii delle cose naturali, e conoscere **quello**
 know.inf. **what** are the principles-of-the things natural and know.inf. **that**
che **sia** ciascheduno, non è parte l'uno dell'altro
what is each-one not is part the-one of-the-other
 (Dante, *Convivio*, IV, cap. 13)

4. Notes for a comparison with Modern Italian

Modern Italian too uses pronouns of the interrogative paradigm in HR. The modern paradigm of interrogative pronouns has preserved the semantic distinction between [+hum.] *chi* and [-an.] *che/cosa/che cosa*, but has obliterated case distinctions, so that both pronouns can perform the function of subject, direct object and prepositional object. Probably as a consequence, HR are subject to more restrictions.

4.1. [+hum.] *chi*

In an HR [+hum.] *chi* can only be a nominative subject or an accusative object, of any type of verb, and the relativized DP can have the function of subject, direct object or prepositional object:

- 29 a Ho parlato a / di / con [**chi** ha fatto questo]
 I-have spoken to / of / with **who** has done this
 b Ho convocato [**chi** ha fatto questo]
 I-have sent-for **who** has done this
 c [**Chi** ha fatto questo] ha offeso tutti / è sparito
who has done this has offended everybody / is disappeared
 d [**Chi** abbiamo invitato] ha accettato l'invito
who we-have invited, has accepted the-invitation
 e Ho parlato a / di / con [**chi** abbiamo invitato]
 I-have spoken to / of / with **who** we-have invited
- 30 a *[\emptyset [**Di chi** avevi parlato] è arrivato]
 (the one) **of whom** you-had spoken is arrived
 b *Abbiamo invitato [\emptyset [**di chi** avevi parlato]
 we-have invited (the one) **of whom** you-had spoken

As these examples show, the grammatical function of the zero antecedent and the *wh*-pronoun can be different, provided that the *wh*-pronoun is either a subject or an object; structures with a prepositional *wh*-pronoun are impossible.

4.1.1. Copular sentences In copular sentences the relativized DP containing an HR, both on the object (cf. 31a–b) or on the subject (cf. 31c–d), is not completely grammatical if it occurs in the postcopular position (cf. 31a, c), while it is perfectly acceptable if it is in preverbal position (cf. 31b, d):⁹

- 31** a ??Il fratello di Gianni / ? il colpevole è **chi** abbiamo incontrato ieri.
 the brother of Gianni the culprit is whom we-have met yesterday
- b **Chi** abbiamo incontrato ieri è il fratello di Gianni / il colpevole
 whom we-have met yesterday is the brother of Gianni the culprit
- c ??Il fratello di Gianni / ?il colpevole è **chi** aprirà la porta.
 the brother of Gianni the culprit is who will-open the door
- d **Chi** aprirà la porta è il fratello di Gianni / il colpevole
 who will-open the door is the brother of Gianni the culprit

Notice that (31a, c) become perfect if the subject is focalized, as in (31a', c') below:

- 31** a' IL FRATELLO DI GIANNI / IL COLPEVOLE è **chi** abbiamo incontrato ieri
- c' IL FRATELLO DI GIANNI / IL COLPEVOLE è **chi** aprirà la porta

4.1.2. Particular cases A headless relativized PP with *chi* appears marginally acceptable, albeit in colloquial usage, if the virtual antecedent and the *wh*-pronoun have an identical function (cf. 32a), even more so if the two arguments (the *wh*-pronoun and the antecedent) are selected by identical verbs (cf. 32b). The sentence becomes nearly perfect if the two verbs have the same person agreement and the verb of the relative contains a modal (cf. 32c):

- 32** a ??Ha dato un biglietto a **chi** dovevano offrire la carica
 he-has given a card (to the person) **to whom** they-had offer.inf. the position
- b ?Questo dono proviene da **chi** provengono tutti i doni
 this gift comes (from the person) **from whom** come all the gifts

⁹ A more accurate description should consider the different types of copular sentence, starting from the detailed work of Moro (1997), and focusing on the difference between the identificational and the predicational copular sentence (which involves the deep position of the arguments in the structure). I hope to pursue this matter further in the future.

- c Ne ha parlato **con chi** doveva parlare
 of-it= he-has spoken (with those people) **with whom** he-had talk.inf.=of-it

On the other hand, an HR on a PP is more acceptable when it occurs in the preverbal position of a copular sentence (the difference between (33a) and (33c) is probably to be related to a difference in the type of case or theta role of the PP: a dative produces the best result):

- 33 a ?**Con chi** dovremmo parlare è Mario
 with whom we-should talk.inf. is Mario
 b *Mario è **con chi** dovremmo parlare
 Mario is **with whom** we-should talk.inf.
 c **A chi** ho dato il libro è Mario
 to whom I-have given the book is Mario
 d *Mario è **a chi** ho dato il libro
 Mario is **to whom** I-have given the book

4.2. [-an.] che (cosa)

The [-an.] *wh*-pronoun in Modern Italian is, with some regional preferences, variously *che*, *cosa* or *che cosa*. HR with [-an.] reference have strong limitations:

- 34 a *Ti darò **che** ho fatto con le mie mani
 you= I-will-give **what** I-have done with the my hands
 b ***Che** ha detto è dannoso
 what he-has said is dangerous
 c *La gelosia è **che** potrebbe rovinare il viaggio
 the jealousy is **what** could spoil.inf. the journey
 d *Questo è **da che** si potrebbe cominciare
 this is **from what** one could begin.inf.

This kind of HR is possible if it is inserted in a PP that is the argument of an infinitival sentence, or a sentence governed by a modal in the subjunctive or conditional (cf. 35a–b). The register in this case is not colloquial, but quite *recherché*, and only *che*, the less colloquial of this class of *wh*-pronouns, can be used. However, this structure cannot save an HR with a bare [-an.] *wh* (cf. 35c):

- 35 a Mi hanno fornito **con che** proseguire la mia ricerca
 me= they-have provided **with what (I can/could)** pursue.inf. the my research
 b Gli ho mandato **di che** farsi una cenetta
 him= I-have sent **of what (he can/could)** prepare.inf.=self a nice-dinner
 c *Gli ho mandato **che / cosa / che cosa** leggere
 him= I-have sent **what** read.inf.

5. Conclusions

Old Italian HR show that case is assigned to the *wh*-pronoun exclusively by the verb of the relative clause. The comparison between Old and Modern Italian shows that the relevance of case matching is not uniform across different languages. A comparison with English, whose *wh*-case system is very similar to that of Old Italian, could lead to more precise hypotheses. In both these languages, moreover, a complementizer can appear after the *wh*-pronoun: its role can be compared to that of the suffix *-unique* (English *-ever*), which builds an indefinite pronoun (see Benincà, in press); such a proposal was originally developed by Battye (1989), who uncovers two possible structures for HR, which could help in analysing this phenomenon and other aspects of HR. The relevance of copular sentence structures also deserves further and more detailed explorations. I will turn to these aspects in the future. Finally, the relationship between HR and indirect questions, which explains some apparent exceptions to interrogative syntax, opened the way for interrogative *wh*-forms to become part of the relative pronoun paradigm in both English and in Old Italian.

2 On Old Italian *uomo* and the classification of indefinite expressions

Verner Egerland

1. Introduction

Over time a lexical noun with the original meaning of ‘man, human being’ may develop into an indefinite pronoun.¹ The use of the lexical noun *HOMO* in (1a) is extended to indefinite contexts, as in Old Florentine (1b), and is further grammaticalized, for instance, in Modern Ticinese dialects such as that of Caveragno-Maggia (cf. 1c):²

- 1 a NON IN SOLO PANE VIVIT HOMO
not in only bread lives man
‘Man does not live by bread alone’
- b Di fuori dalle mura di Giaffe, come l’**uomo** esciedi fuore per la diritta
outside the walls of Jaffa, as the-man exits of out through the right
porta, che l’**uomo** chiama la porta di Gerusalem ...
gate that the-man calls the gate of Jerusalem ...
‘As you leave the town gate that is called “the gate of Jerusalem” ...’
(*Itinerario luoghi santi* 1.163)
- c **Um** ‘dø:rm / **um** a dømri:t
man sleeps / man has slept
‘We sleep/we have slept’

(Manzini and Savoia 2005, II:88)

The Old Florentine example in (1b) is to be considered an intermediate phase in the development leading from (1a) to (1c). I will use the cover term ‘HOMO-indefinites’ to refer to nominal expressions such as those illustrated in (1a–c). The most familiar examples of this change are Latin *HOMO* and the corresponding noun *man*, which in several Germanic languages has developed the properties of an indefinite pronoun. A similar development has taken place in some Slavonic varieties (Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2006). To what extent the similarities between HOMO-indefinites in these languages are due to language

¹ This research was funded by the Swedish Research Council, n. 421–2006–2086.

² The major part of the Old Italian data comes from the *OVI* database (www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/), to which we refer the reader for full bibliographic details.

contact remains largely an open question, although many explicit claims have been made on this issue. Apart from the possibility of syntactic borrowings in individual cases, it is clear that this particular case of diachronic change exhibits the features of a universal tendency. The fact that HOMO-indefinites are attested in Africa and South East Asia (Haspelmath 1997; Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2006) suggests that a purely areal approach cannot provide an exhaustive account for the grammaticalization of HOMO. Although indefinite expressions deriving from such nouns can be said to constitute a class on historical grounds, from a morpho-syntactic and semantic viewpoint such expressions are far from homogeneous in nature: different HOMO-indefinites are seen to share properties with indefinites of different origin, such as 'SE-indefinites' (indefinite expressions deriving from what is usually a reflexive) and 'GENS-indefinites' (deriving from nouns with the original meaning of 'people'), just to mention a few.

The purpose of this study is to shed some light on the issues relating to HOMO-indefinites, and more precisely:

- (1) to provide a classification of the different uses of indefinite expressions based on the underlying assumption that these uses correspond to different stages of grammaticalization
- (2) to define *uomo* in Old Italian varieties in relation to these stages
- (3) to suggest the kind of trigger that brings about this particular kind of diachronic change.

The case of OIt. *uomo* is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, what we observe in the Old Italian texts can be described as grammaticalization at a fairly early stage, which may allow us to propose some hypotheses on the driving force behind the change at such a stage. In comparison, OFr. *on* had reached a more grammaticalized status as early as the medieval period (Welton-Lair 1999). Secondly, it is well known that Modern Italian does not allow for any indefinite pronominalized use of *uomo*, as in (1b) above. Thus, It. *uomo* may qualify as an example of interrupted or, perhaps, *reverse* grammaticalization (Newmeyer 1998; Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2006), an issue we leave for future research. Thirdly, the study of *uomo* in Old Italian varieties may contribute to our general understanding of particular morpho-syntactic properties of indefinite expressions.

2. Four different classes of HOMO-indefinites

On the basis of the morpho-syntactic properties of the nominal elements HOMO/*man* and expressions that derive from these elements, as well as the contexts in which these elements can appear, we may divide them into four major classes: (A) lexical nouns; (B) quasi-universal or generic indefinites;

(C) quasi-existential or episodic indefinites; and (D) pronouns with specific reference. It should be stressed at this point that this is a classification of uses, not of nouns or pronouns, since single pronouns can arguably belong to more than one class.³

2.1. A: *A kind-denoting lexical DP*

The first class corresponds to the lexical noun *man*, which can be used in generic contexts, giving rise to a kind-denoting reading roughly equivalent to ‘man-kind’ or ‘human beings’. Consider the translation of the English sentence in (2) into five different languages, namely French, (Modern) Italian, Swedish, Icelandic and Hungarian:

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--------------------|----------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 2 | a | Man | must | learn | to care for | the environment |
| | b | L’homme | doit | apprendre à prendre soin | de l’environnement | (Fr.) |
| | c | L’uomo | deve | imparare a curare | l’ambiente | (It.) |
| | d | Människan | måste | lära sig att vårda | miljön | (Sw.) |
| | e | Maðurinn | verður | að læra að hugsa um | náttúruna | (Ic.) |
| | f | Az embernek | meg kell | tanulnia a | természetet védeni | (Hu.) |
| | | the man.dat. | perf. | must learn.3sg. | the nature.acc. | protect |

The nominal expressions in (2a–f) are unambiguously DPs. For instance, they can in fact be modified (*modern man must learn...*). With the interesting exception of English, all nouns in (2) are morphologically definite (cf. Krifka *et al.* 1995).

2.2. B: *A quasi-universal indefinite expression in generic contexts*

A second class of expressions is those illustrated in (3a–d), namely, indefinite ‘quasi-universal’ arguments. Such expressions are only licensed in generic contexts, in the sense that they report habits or regularities and not particular events:

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--------------|--------|------------|------------------|----------------|-------|
| 3 | a | On | doit | travailler | jusqu’à l’âge de | 65 ans | (Fr.) |
| | b | Man | måste | arbeta | till | 65 | (Sw.) |
| | c | Maður | vinnur | til | | 65 ára aldurs | (Ic.) |
| | | man | must | work(s) | until | 65 (years old) | |

³ In what follows, the rather loose term ‘nominal expression’ is sometimes preferred over ‘lexical noun’ or ‘pronoun’ quite simply because, with the exception of classes A and D, it is not *a priori* always obvious whether the expressions in question are actually nouns or pronouns.

- d **Az embernek** dolgoznia kell 65-éves koráig (Hu.)
 the man.dat work must 65-years age-to
 ‘People/you have to work until the age of 65’/‘The age of retirement is 65’

As is evident from the idiomatic translation of (3a–d), the relevant reading is not kind-denoting. Eng. *man*, Fr. *homme* and It. *uomo* cannot express this sort of reading.⁴ Note furthermore that French and Swedish have distinct lexemes for the lexical DP and the indefinite expression deriving from it, namely *homme-on* and *människa-man*, respectively, whereas one and the same lexeme is used in Icelandic (*maður*) and Hungarian (*ember*).

2.3. C: *An existential indefinite expression in episodic contexts*

The third class of expressions denotes a quasi-existential indefinite argument, that is, an arbitrary set of people. Expressions of this class can appear in episodic contexts: they can report particular events and, hence, are compatible with a specific time reference.

- 4 a Hier à cinq heures **on** a attrapé le coupable (Fr.)
 yesterday at five o'clock man has caught the culprit
 b I går klockan fem grep **man** den skyldige (Sw.)
 c *Klukkan fimm í gær náði **maður** þeim seka (Ic.)
 yesterday at five o'clock caught man the culprit
 d *Tegnap délután elfogta **az ember** a tolvajt (Hu.)
 yesterday afternoon caught the man the thief
 ‘Yesterday at five the culprit was caught’ / ‘...they/somebody caught...’

Note that Fr. *on* and Sw. *man* are compatible with this sort of reading, whereas Icelandic *maður* and Hungarian *ember* are not.

2.4. D: *A specific expression*

HOMO-indefinites of the fourth class receive a specific interpretation. In Romance varieties, HOMO may replace the 1pl., as, for instance, in (colloquial) French (cf. 5a), and also in many Italian dialects (cf. 1c; Rohlfs 1968: 232; Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 88ff.). In (colloquial or substandard) Scandinavian varieties too (cf. 5b), *man* can be used as a 1sg. (Jónsson 1992; Egerland 2003):

⁴ In simple terms, *Man has to work until 65* and *People have to work until 65* are not synonymous statements, one difference being that the latter allows for exceptions (cf. Chierchia 1995 on It. *si*).

Table 2.1 *Overview of the uses of HOMO-indefinites*

	A	B	C	D
Eng. <i>man</i> /Fr. <i>homme</i> /It. <i>uomo</i> /Sw. <i>människa</i>	√	*	*	*
Fr. <i>on</i>	*	√	√	√
Sw. <i>man</i>	*	√	√	√
Ic. <i>maður</i>	√	√	*	√
Hu. <i>ember</i>	√	√	*	*

- 5 a (Nous) **on** dort (Fr.)
 we man sleeps
 ‘We sleep’
- b I går på eftermiddagen blev **man** avskedad (Sw.)
 yesterday afternoon was man fired
 ‘Yesterday afternoon I was fired’

In those Germanic and Romance varieties where such a change is attested, a tendency can be observed for these expressions to mark 1st person (singular or plural), although exceptions are known to exist, such as Abr. *nome* (D’Alessandro and Alexiadou 2006). It is of course a matter of analysis whether pronouns of this class should appropriately be labelled ‘indefinites’. One possible view is that such pronouns as the ones in (1c) and (5a–b) have become specific. Alternatively, they are still (at some level of analysis) indefinites, but are nevertheless compatible with uses where reference to a specific individual is contextually enforced. For present purposes the choice between these analyses can be left entirely open.

2.5. Summary

Summing up so far, the nominal expressions taken into account are distributed between the four classes as illustrated in Table 2.1, where the symbol ‘√’ stands for ‘compatible with the relevant contexts’ and ‘*’ for ‘incompatible with the relevant contexts’:

3. The diachronic path of grammaticalization

So far, the four classes listed in Table 2.1 have been implicitly considered both as different synchronic uses and as a sequence of diachronic stages (Jónsson 1992; Egerland 2003; D’Alessandro and Alexiadou 2006; Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2006). With regard to the chronology of these stages, the most straightforward hypothesis seems to be the one illustrated in Figure 2.1.

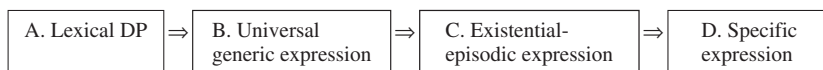


Figure 2.1 A diachronic path in four stages (1st attempt)

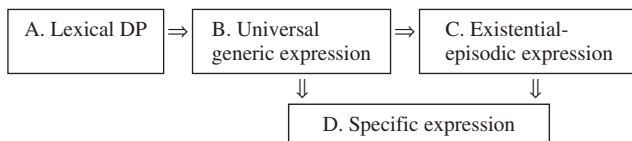


Figure 2.2 A diachronic path in four stages (2nd attempt)

There are good reasons to believe that pronouns belonging to class C at some earlier stage of development exhibited class B properties. To my knowledge, there is no evidence that class B pronouns historically belonged to class C. Any evidence of the opposite development would of course falsify the hypothesis expressed in Figure 2.1. Moreover, Figure 2.1 describes an implicational scale that is synchronically valid and concerns classes B and C, namely, if an indefinite expression deriving from *HOMO/man* allows for an existential-episodic interpretation, it also has a universal-generic interpretation, but not necessarily vice versa. However, the relation between the fourth class of pronouns and the first three is less straightforward than stated in Figure 2.1. In substandard Icelandic, for instance the ‘specific’ reading is possible:

- 6 Ég vona að **maður** verði ekki of seinn
 I hope that man will-be not too late
 ‘I hope I won’t be too late’

Since Icelandic *maður* has not reached the third stage, the specific reading must have emerged directly from the second stage. A more appropriate description of the diachronic path is then the one given in Figure 2.2.

In what follows we shall not consider further class D, which in many respects is the most difficult to comprehend.

4. The grammatical status of OIt. *uomo*

With respect to the above classification, the grammatical status of *uomo* in Old Italian, which we use here as a cover term for all dialects contained in the *OVI* corpus, can be established through a number of independently motivated criteria. All of these point to the conclusion that *uomo* corresponded to classes A and B, and that, consequently, grammaticalization has not gone beyond the second of these first two stages. What appear to be grammaticalized uses of

uomo (and its morpho-phonological variants, see further §4.4) are attested in all these varieties, and no substantial differences between them emerge from the data.

4.1. *Criteria for distinguishing between class A expressions and class B expressions*

Firstly, consider that *uomo* is frequently attested in generic contexts such as (7), in which the lexical DP, namely, the kind-denoting reading corresponding to class A, cannot be distinguished from the quasi-universal indefinite of class B. That is to say, examples such as (7) can be paraphrased either as ‘man can...’ or ‘you/people can...’. Interestingly, ambiguous contexts of this kind constitute a very considerable part of the attested cases of *uomo*, a circumstance to which we shall return in §5.

- 7 le stelle hano lume da loro per casione che **omo** le possa vedere
 the stars have light from them for reason that man them=can see.inf.
 ‘the stars give off light so that you can see them’
 (Aret., Resotro d’Arezzo, *Composizione del mondo*, LII.8.18.228.20)

That *uomo* could be used as a regular lexical noun is demonstrated by examples such as (8), where the antonymous relation *man*–*demon* suggests a lexical reading:

- 8 Eo sont demonio in specie d’ **om** metudho
 I am demon in species of man placed
 ‘I am a demon (who has) come in the place of man’
 (Mil., Bonvesin da la Riva, *Opere volgari, Laudes de Virgine Maria*, 150.216)

The most obvious criterion for differentiating between class B and class A expressions derives from the fact that class B expressions are compatible with contextual restrictions of various kinds. For example, in the following French examples, the set referred to by the nominal expression *on* is restricted by the locative (cf. 9a) or temporal (cf. 9b) adverbial, which enforces the reading ‘people’ or ‘you’ rather than ‘man’ (cf. 9a). Similarly, a class B reading is salient whenever the HOMO-indefinite contrasts with some other participant in discourse (cf. 9c):

- 9 a En Espagne, **on** dîne tard le soir
 in Spain man dines late the evening
 ‘People eat late in the evening in Spain’
 b Quand **on** arrive à l’église, **on** doit tourner à gauche
 when man arrives at the-church man must turn to left
 ‘When you get to the church, you need to turn left’

- c **On** lui dit que tout ira bien
 man to-him= says that all will-go well
 'People tell him that it will all go well'

OIt. *uomo* could be associated with various restrictions of this kind. In the following examples, *uomo* is shown in a number of contexts where kind-denoting readings are excluded. In (10a–b) *uomo* is restricted by a locative and temporal expression respectively, whereas in (10c) *uomo* appears in contrast with another discourse participant:

- 10 a sopra un monticello di sassi... Quine dicie l'**uomo** che sancto Abachuc profeta
 above a mount of rocks here says the-man that Saint Habacuc prophet
 abitò
 lived
 'On top of a mount of rocks ... Here people say that Saint Habacuc once lived'
 (Flo., *Itinerario luoghi santi*, 1.164)
- b E quando l'**omo** è andato uno die et una note, si se trova aqua ch'è
 and when the-man is gone one day and one night so self= finds water that-is
 bona da bere
 good from drink.inf.
 'And when people have travelled all day and all night, there is good water to be drunk'
 (Emil., *Frammento del milione*, 19.514.34)
- c talor cred' **hom** q' eu dorma, q' eu veio al sereno
 sometimes believes man that I sleep that I wake to-the serene
 'sometimes people believe that I am asleep when I am awake'
 (Ven., *Proverbia que dicuntur*, 528.545)

We can therefore conclude that OIt. *uomo* is attested in contexts associated with classes A and B.

4.2. Criteria for distinguishing between B expressions and C expressions

Class B expressions can be distinguished from class C expressions on a number of empirically motivated grounds. First of all, the defining property of class C expressions is that they can appear in episodic contexts and, hence, are compatible with specific time reference and perfective aspect. Indefinite occurrences of OIt. *uomo*, however, appear to be restricted to present tense and past imperfect. Examples of *uomo* with the past perfect are very few and are normally embedded in generic contexts, as in (11):

- 11 E quando l'**omo** à cavalcate quelle sei çorante, el se trova una città che
 and when the-man has ridden those six days he self= finds a city that
 à nome Sepurgan
 has name Sepurgan

‘And when you have been riding for six days you come to a town called Sepurgan’
(Emil., *Frammento del milione*, 7.507.29)

Secondly, it is clear from the modern languages under discussion that elements compatible with the universal-generic interpretation of B, but incompatible with the existential-episodic interpretation of C, can function as syntactic objects. On the other hand, elements compatible with the existential-episodic interpretation of C cannot appear as objects of a sentence, as formulated in generalization (12):

12 Generalization I (the syntactic function of HOMO-indefinites)

Indefinite pronouns that are exclusively generic may appear as both subjects and objects.

Indefinite pronouns that can be used both episodically and generically can only appear as subjects.

The distinction is illustrated in (13), where Fr. *on* and Sw. *man* cannot be syntactic objects, in contrast to Ic. *maður* and Hu. *ember*:

- 13**
- a *Ils **on** ont vu (Fr.)
they man= have seen
 - b *De har sett **man** (Sw.)
they have seen man
‘They have seen one’
 - c Svona tölur segja **manni** að eitthvað sé í ólagi (Ic.)
such figures tell man.dat. that something is wrong
‘Such figures tell you that something is wrong’
 - d Ilyen adatok gyanakvová teszik az embert (Hu.)
such information suspicious make the man.acc.
‘Such information makes you suspicious’

As pointed out in Salvi (in press), in Old Italian texts it is difficult to tell the difference between A and B when *uomo* appears as syntactic object. Such constructions as (14a) are very frequent, but *uomo* in these cases is obviously open to a kind-denoting interpretation. However, in such examples as (14b) *uomo* comes closer to the indefinite use, here roughly paraphrasable as ‘somebody’/‘anybody’.

- 14**
- a I riso fa l'**uomo** isgraziato e odiato
laughter makes the-man unpleasant and hated
‘Laughter makes man unpleasant and hated’
(Flo., *Fiori di filosofia*, 24.182)
 - b Che chi vuole gabbare **uomo** elli muove le labbra senza neente dire
that who wants mock.inf. man he moves the lips without nothing say.inf.
‘He who wants to mock somebody moves his lips without saying anything’
(Flo., *Deca prima di Tito Livio*, L2.61.1.218.22)

Thirdly, there is a correlation with verbal and adjectival agreement, in that the existential-episodic HOMO-indefinite of class C, unlike the universal-generic expression of class B, is compatible with variations in verbal agreement (van Gelderen 1997; Egerland 2003). We thus arrive at a second generalization:

15 Generalization II

Indefinite pronouns that tolerate variations in agreement patterns are compatible with an existential-episodic interpretation. Indefinite pronouns that are exclusively generic do not tolerate such agreement variations.

This distinction is illustrated with the examples in (16). When Fr. *on* or Sw. *man* refer to a plural argument, an accompanying participle or adjectival predicate can surface in the plural, as illustrated in the French example (16a). In contrast, Ic. *maður* and Hu. *ember* are not so readily compatible with such agreement variations – witness the ungrammatical Hungarian example in (16b):

- 16 a À nos âges, **on** a besoin d' être soignés
at our ages man has need of be.inf. cared-for.pl.
'At our age, we need to be taken care of'
- b Nagyon elégedett/*elégedettek volt/*voltak **az ember** a teljesítményével
very pleased.sg./pl. was/were the man the achievement.his.with
'People were happy with his achievement'

OIt. *uomo* is used in the 3sg. masculine in a very consistent fashion. In the *OVI* corpus, very few cases of deviant agreement patterns were attested, namely (17a–b):

- 17 a Tornati ongn' **uomo** a sua magione, messer Oddo Arrighi fece consilglo
returned.pl. each man to his house messer Oddo Arrighi made counsel
di suoi amici
of his friends
'Having returned each man to his home, Lord Oddo Arrighi held a counsel with his friend and relatives'
(Flo., *Cronica fiorentina*, 1.118)
- b Tullio disse ... l'**uomo** per atare l'uno l'altro sono ingenerati
Tully said the-man for help.inf. the-one the-other are created.pl.
'Tully said ... men were created to help each other'
(Flo., Zuccherro Bencivenni, *Esposizione del Paternostro*, 1.33)

It is legitimate to speculate that (17a–b) arise due to transcription errors or the like. In fact, both occurrences of *uomo* in (17a–b) are, rather, examples of lexical uses: in (17a) *ongn' uomo* means 'each individual', and in (17b) *uomo* appears to be a kind-denoting expression. Presumably, in (17b) the plural form *uomini* has been erroneously replaced by the singular.

4.3. *A note on the co-reference between the indefinite and personal pronouns*

Building above all on Chierchia's (1995) analysis of the Italian *si* construction, there might be a further way to distinguish between the above classes by testing whether the indefinite can be the antecedent of a personal pronoun. However, the classification does not rely on this criterion, which does not prove straightforward when we consider the HOMO-indefinites under discussion. On the one hand, it is clear that class A expressions, lexical DPs in generic statements, can be the antecedent of a personal pronoun (cf. 18a). It is equally clear that pronouns like Fr. *on* and Sw. *man* cannot be the antecedents of personal pronouns, but are instead anaphorically repeated (cf. 18b). On the other hand, the properties of indefinites limited to class B, such as Hu. *ember* and Ic. *maður*, prove less straightforward. In the Hungarian example (18c), *ember* is the antecedent of a null pronominal 'pro', like a class A expression, whereas in the Icelandic example (18d), *maður* is anaphorically repeated, like a class C expression.

- 18 a **Man**_i must learn to care for the environment if **he**_i wants to survive
 b **On**_i doit travailler jusqu' à l'âge de 65 ans si **on**_i/***il**_i ne veut pas
 man must work.inf. until the-age of 65 years if man/he not wants not
 être pauvre (Fr.)
 be.inf. poor
 c **Az embernek**_i dolgoznia kell 65-éves koráig ha nem **pro**_i akar élni
 the man.dat. works must 65-years age-to if not pro wants live.inf.
 szegénységben (Hu.)
 poverty-in
 'You have to work until the age of 65 if you don't want to be poor'
 d **Maður**_i verður að vinna ef **maður**_i vill verða ríkur (Ic.)
 man must that work if man will be rich
 'You have to work if you want to be rich'

In fact, Old Italian data are ambiguous with respect to this criterion (cf. Salvi in press). On the one hand, *uomo* can be the antecedent to a personal pronoun, both in subject (cf. 19a) and object (cf. 19b) positions:

- 19 a Eo ho vezuo d'inverno ke l'**om**_i sovenzo trema, / sed **el**_i è malvesto
 I have seen of-winter that the-man often trembles if he is ill-dressed
 'I have seen in the winter that man often shivers if he is ill dressed'
 (Mil., Bonvesin da la Riva, *Opere volgari, De Scriptura nigra*, 389.114)
 b La ricchezza fa l'**uomo** gentile' e la povertà lo sopianta
 the wealth makes the-man gentle and the poverty him= supplants
 'Wealth makes man gentle'

(Flo., *Disciplina clericalis*, 1.81)

In (19a) *l'om* is interpretable as a class A expression, whereas the (oft-cited) example of (19b) is clearly a class B expression, since the kind-denoting reading is contextually excluded. However, cases of anaphoric repetition of *uomo* are also attested, as in (20):

- 20 come l'**uomo**_i escie per la masta porta ... trova l'**uomo**_i la sepoltura di sancto
 as the-man exits by the main door finds the-man the tomb of holy
 Cornelli ... Più innanzi trova l'**uomo**_i una grande peza di marmo ... la quale
 Cornelli more before finds the-man a large piece of marble the which
 l'**uomo**_i chiama la tavola del Nostro Singnore
 the-man calls the table of-the our lord
 'as you leave by the main gate ... you meet the tomb of Saint Cornelli ... Further
 ahead you find a large piece of marble called the table of Our Lord'
 (Flo., *Itinerario luoghi santi*, 1.162)

Several possibilities can be thought of to account for this variation. In particular, it cannot be excluded that what has been labelled class B might be better understood as two different classes. If a finer-grained classification turned out to be correct, then Ic. *maður* should probably be analysed as a more grammaticalized element than Hu. *ember*, and the Old Italian variation could be ascribed to the alternation between co-existing forms that are grammaticalized to differing degrees.

4.4. Summary

In view of the fact that OIt. *uomo* (i) appears exclusively in generic contexts, (ii) can be used as a generic object and (iii) is masculine singular, we conclude that it did not reach the third stage, C. A number of inferences immediately derive from this observation. Firstly, the morpho-phonological make-up of the HOMO-indefinite is actually of no relevance in establishing its grammatical status. In some authors, however, a different sort of correlation can be found, in the sense that the reduced forms are preferred in poetry. Dante has *uomo* in the *Convivio* and *uom* in the *Commedia*. Brunetto Latini makes use of *omo* and *om* in the *Tesoretto*, whereas *uomo* proves more frequent in the *Rettorica*. In the *Rime* by Guido Cavalcanti and Rinuccino we find *om*, while in the contemporary prose texts *Fiori di filosofia* and *Novellino*, and in the works of Bono Giamboni, the full form *uomo* is largely predominant (see also Salvi in press). All of this suggests that the choice between monosyllabic and disyllabic forms mainly depends on verse. Hence (appearances notwithstanding), there is no evidence in Old Italian in favour of a lexical distinction of the French kind, namely that between a lexical form (i.e. *homme*) and a pronominal one (i.e. *on*).

Secondly, OIt. *uomo* is different from OFr. *on*, which displays properties of a class C expression (Welton-Lair 1999). This, in turn, means that

grammaticalization of HOMO-indefinites happened earlier in the French area, but it also suggests that the indefinite use of *uomo* in Old Italian is the result of an independent development, and not that of a borrowing. If the Old Italian use of *uomo* had been a syntactic calque on French, the morpho-syntactic properties of this element in Old Italian should have been different from what we see. Furthermore, if OFr. *on* is to have had any influence on the use of OIt. *uomo*, the two forms must have been considered equivalent in some way: speakers of Old Italian must have been able to see an analogy between *on* and *uomo*. It is doubtful whether any such analogy could have been acknowledged by speakers, considering that OIt. *uomo* was still a lexical noun when OFr. *on* had already become a functional element.

Thirdly, a further conclusion, indirectly prompted by the data, concerns morphological definiteness: the presence/absence of the definite article is not a reliable criterion for establishing the grammatical status of HOMO-indefinites (again, contrary to expectations). Consider, for example, that in varieties where HOMO is indeed grammaticalized, the article can be part of the grammaticalized form (and hence ‘degrammaticalized’: cf. Fr. *l’on*). Moreover, the existence of such forms as *nome* in Abruzzese suggests that the indefinite article may undergo a similar kind of change (D’Alessandro and Alexiadou 2006). It should be added that the morphological realization of definiteness in Old Italian is not as regular as in Modern Italian. As a consequence, the alternation between *uomo* and *l’uomo*, sometimes found within the same discourse, is not always associated with any semantic or grammatical distinction – witness (21), where the only obvious difference between the two occurrences is the subjects’ position in relation to the verb: *uomo* precedes the verb and *l’uomo* follows it. No statistical correlation in this respect could be established, however.

- 21 E inpercioe sappiate che **uomo** sì m’appella Chieri lo siniscalco ... Onde ora
and therefore note that man so me=calls Chieri the seneschal therefore now
sì m’appella **l’uomo** lo ree siniscalco
so me=calls the-man the king seneschal
‘And therefore you should know that I am called Chieri the seneschal ... Therefore
now I am called king seneschal’

(*Tristano Riccardiano*, 174.309)

5. Premises for diachronic change

As already mentioned in the introduction, the grammaticalization of HOMO can be considered a universal tendency. It follows from this view that areal approaches, or appeals to language contact in general, can give only a limited explanation of this phenomenon. What the analysis should look for instead is some property of

language that (universally) creates the premises for grammaticalization.⁵ Now, the first two steps of the change – from class A to class B, and from class B to class C – are interpretable in terms of reduction of lexical content. Suppose, then, that the driving force behind the grammaticalization of *HOMO* lies in the continuous loss of grammatical features, in the vein of, for instance, van Gelderen (1997). Let us tentatively assume that the first step is due to the loss of a D-related feature, such as specificity. This means assuming that what fundamentally distinguishes class A expressions from class B expressions is the ability of the former to refer to specific individuals (in some languages, the loss of specificity is morphologically signalled at the surface by the loss of definiteness, but, as we have seen, there is only a loose correlation). Furthermore, assume that a proper understanding of language change depends on a proper understanding of language acquisition. If change is guided by acquisition, the loss of features must be driven by some property of the input, or by some universal acquisition strategy on behalf of the child, or by some combination of the two. One of the conclusions of §4 was that there is no simple correlation between the morpho-phonological make-up of these elements and their grammatical status. This observation actually excludes a morpho-phonological trigger: grammaticalization in this case cannot be ascribed to morpho-phonological erosion or some similar phenomenon. We are left to conclude that the relevant trigger is pragmatic or semantic in nature and is related to the contexts in which a noun such as *man* is normally used.

Moreover, the acquisitional perspective forces us to explain how features are lost, taking into account that children only have access to positive evidence. The reason behind this change, then, must lie in the absence of some kind of evidence in the input. For instance, if children were to hear something like *a rhinoceros eats snakes*, they will have positive evidence for the use of the noun *rhinoceros* in a generic context. Other independent occurrences of the word will offer positive evidence in favour of the conclusion that *rhinoceros* can be specific and countable (and, depending on the language, ‘masculine’, ‘animate’ and so forth). Suppose instead that, for some reason, a word happens to be used predominantly, or even exclusively, in generic contexts, then the evidence for such a feature as specificity will actually be lacking in the input. Now, recall that, of the attested cases of *uomo* in Old Italian texts, a very considerable number were used in generic contexts, that is, in contexts where *uomo* is in fact ambiguous between a generic lexical DP and an indefinite pronominal-like expression. It is legitimate then to speculate that a frequent occurrence of ambiguous contexts in language use favours grammaticalization.

⁵ Of course, this is not to say that we are denying, for instance, that grammaticalization of Latin *HOMO* was due to a calque or any other hypothesis of language influence. What should be denied is that this sort of explanation can give a comprehensive account for this particular instance of language change.

This idea rests on the crucial and non-trivial assumption that children need explicit evidence in the input in order to reach the conclusion that an expression can be specific. Interestingly, recent advances in acquisition studies seem to lend some support to this view. Pérez-Leroux *et al.* (2004) and Gavarró *et al.* (2003) convincingly argue that young children exhibit a generic bias in their interpretation of noun phrases. In essence, when confronted with sentences like *tigers eat carrots* and *the tigers eat carrots*, young children acquiring English were shown not to ascribe to these forms the different interpretations that would normally be associated with them in adult English. Rather, these children interpreted both forms as generic. Should this finding reflect a universal tendency, it could provide a convincing reason for the grammaticalization of HOMO-indefinites. Thus, if a child has a tendency to initially interpret nominal expressions generically and needs positive evidence in order to acquire specificity, such an acquisition strategy may constitute the driving force for this kind of language change.⁶

As for the change from B to C, this step too is likely to be due to the subsequent loss of ϕ -features, among which number could be of particular importance. The argument for this is that class C expressions are seen to be more compatible with variations in agreement on verbs and adjectives as stated in Generalization II in (15) above. Hence, number specification is not inherent to such nominal expressions but, rather, provided by context, as in the above example (16a). Egerland (2003) conjectures a principled link between such agreement variations and the compatibility with episodic readings. If this is correct, occurrences of HOMO-indefinites in episodic or perfective contexts could offer the trigger for the second step of the change. Since this development cannot be observed in Old Italian, we leave the discussion open.

6. Conclusion

In the ideal case, a theory of indefinite expressions should provide a plausible answer to why certain syntactic changes tend to be universal and, furthermore, proceed in a particular order. The acquisitional perspective offers an interesting contribution to such a theory, as it sheds light on the premises for syntactic change. More precisely, the grammaticalization of HOMO-indefinites, and consequently the morpho-syntactic properties they exhibit, could be the result of the interaction between an initial hypothesis of language learners and the absence of a certain sort of evidence in the input. I conclude that further enquiry along this line of thought is warranted.

⁶ This line of thought implies that certain categories of noun are particularly susceptible to grammaticalization. This is, in fact, the desired result: apart from the HOMO/*man* category, the analysis could be extended to the GENS/*people* category mentioned in the introduction.

3 Syncretism and suppletion in clitic systems: underspecification, silent clitics or neither?

M. Rita Manzini and Leonardo M. Savoia

1. **Introduction**

Syncretism and suppletion phenomena in Romance clitic systems have been treated in a number of morpho-syntactic approaches, including Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993; 1994), Optimality Theory (Grimshaw 2001) and, most recently, in Kayne's (2005b; 2006a, b) work on 'silent categories'. All of these approaches share the idea that syntax represents a number of properties that find no overt realization in the final string. What varies from approach to approach is simply the nature of the categories or features that are only abstractly represented (namely, that are not overtly present). In this chapter we shall review syncretism and suppletion phenomena in the clitic systems of Italian dialects from a parametric perspective. Our proposal is that notions of underspecification and default should be abandoned (a point on which we agree with Kayne), and that abstract lexical items should not be introduced to substitute for them. In short, our idea is that morpho-syntactic structures are built entirely from the specified properties of overtly instantiated lexical items in accordance with current minimalist assumptions (Chomsky 1995). Moreover, we shall argue that such a restrictive theory is actually beneficial in accounting for microvariation in language.¹

2. **Background**

In the framework of Distributed Morphology, lexical insertion is governed by the principle that 'the most highly specified Vocabulary Item whose identifying features are a subset of the features of the terminal node wins the competition and is inserted' (Halle and Marantz 1994: 276). On the other hand, lexical insertion is applied at the end of the morpho-syntactic derivation (Late Insertion), after readjustment rules have manipulated the features of the terminal

¹ This work is part of the project co-financed by MIUR *Hierarchical Structures and Recursion in Natural Languages* (2005–7). We wish to thank our kind informants for their collaboration. A large part of the data and fundamental lines of analysis presented in this work are taken from Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007).

node, thus creating underspecified representations; for example, the rule of Impoverishment cancels one or more features of a terminal node. One phenomenon that implies Impoverishment is the so-called *Spurious se* of Spanish, where the specialized dative *le* which occurs in isolation is excluded in a cluster with an accusative clitic and is substituted by *se*. Halle and Marantz (1994: 283) suggest that a rule of Impoverishment deletes the feature [Dative] in a terminal clitic node, when it is in the same cluster as a clitic with the accusative feature. The only clitic of the Spanish lexicon that can be inserted under the impoverished node is *se*, as it lacks Case features altogether. The sequence that results will thus be *se lo*. As mentioned above, the extrinsic order of rules is fundamental: specifically, Impoverishment must precede Lexical Insertion.

Optimality Theory translates the extrinsic order of rules into a markedness hierarchy of constraints, which is held to generate the optimal representation. Lexical insertion is ruled by a criterion according to which it is necessary to satisfy the maximum number of constraints imposed by the grammar, in the order in which they are ranked. In the case of *Spurious se*, for Grimshaw (1997; 2001) the highest-ranked constraints are alignment constraints forcing clitics specified for Case or Person to be inserted on the right side of the cluster. These ordering constraints prevail over those of Faithfulness, which require preservation of the features included in the input. Hence, the non-observance of the alignment constraints determines a fatal violation. This has the effect of excluding the sequence with a dative on the left such as **le lo* and of selecting the sequence *se-accusative* as the optimal candidate due to the underspecified nature of the reflexive.

The comparison between these two models underlines the conceptual affinity of Distributed Morphology and Optimality, despite their different formal apparatus. In fact, on the basis of the properties of the lexical items and of syntactic structure alone, one might expect a result that is avoided in both approaches by resorting to principles rendering the input properties unreadable and forcing the insertion of less specified lexical items.

According to Kayne (2005b; 2006a, b; 2007), different interpretations associated with clitics in conditions of syncretism/suppletion can be explained by hypothesizing the presence of silent items. For example, in the case of Spanish *Spurious se*, insertion of *se* does not correspond to the substitution of *se* for the dative *le* in the way hypothesized by the morphological approaches examined above; rather, it is said to license 'a silent counterpart of *le*' (Kayne 2006b: 7), as in (1):

- 1 Yo se LE lo di (a María)
 I se= it=gave (to María)
 'I gave it to her María'

This same analysis is adopted by Kayne (2006a, b) to explain syncretism phenomena. These include, in particular, the *ghe* of northern Italian dialects, which is both locative and dative, and the *ci* of Standard Italian which is locative

as well as 1pl. Kayne's (2006a) idea is that in these cases *ghe* and *ci* do not correspond to underspecified forms inserted in place of the specialized dative clitic or 1pl. clitic, but that these items, characterized as expletive clitics, license silent, unpronounced items. As illustrated in (2a), Paduan *ghe* licenses a silent dative clitic (indicated as DATCL; Kayne 2006a: 24). In (2b) we illustrate the structure that Kayne (2007: 10) offers for syncretic *ci* in Standard Italian, where 'NI is the silent first person (object clitic) pronoun':

- 2 a DATCL *ghe* *dago* *un* *libro*
 ghe= I-give *a* *book*
 'I give a book to him'
- b NI *ci* *amano*
 ci= they-love
 'They love us'

Variation is a consequence of the fact that languages differ with regard to the lexicalization (pronunciation) of universal functional categories. Pronounced elements, such as syncretic clitics that license silent categories, give rise to a descriptive mechanism not very different from those studied above for Distributed Morphology or Optimality. In all cases, the insertion of clitics (for example, the *Spurious se*) corresponds to an input associated with richer specifications that remain implied, though not phonologically realized.

3. Syncretic and suppletive clitics

In this section we shall survey syncretic and suppletive clitic constructions in both the dative and the 1pl. in the dialects of Italy (Manzini and Savoia 2005; 2007). The data in (3a) show that the dative can be syncretic with the reflexive (*si*), the partitive (*nə*) and the locative (*tʃi*, *g(e)*). Similarly, the 1pl. in (3b) can be syncretic with the reflexive or the partitive. In the dialect of Civate, the locative lexicalizes both the 1pl. and the dative:

- 3 a *si* 'ðunanu *kistu*
 to-him= they-give this
 'They give him this'
- b *ndi* 'viðinu
 us= they-see
 'They see us'

S. Agata del Bianco (RC, Calabria)

- a *tʃi* ðuna *kkissu*
 to-him= he-gives this
 'He gives him this'

- b ni 'viðanu
us= they-see
'They see us'

S. Marco Argentano (CS, Calabria)

- a nə ða stu kunda
to-him= he-gives this thing
'He gives him this thing'

- b sə 'caməna
us= they-call
'They call us'

Nocera (CS, Calabria)

- a a g da kwestu
scl= to-him= he-gives this
'He gives him this'

- b a s ve:t
scl= us= sees
'He sees us'

Revere (MN, Lombardy)

- a al ge da kes ke
scl= to-him= gives this
'He gives him this'

- b al ge tʃama
scl= us= calls
'He calls us'

Civate (CO, Lombardy)

In (4) we exemplify varieties which present a 3rd person dative form in isolation (the a examples), but present a suppletive clitic in clusters with an accusative clitic (the b examples). Again the suppletive dative can be the locative (*tʃə*), the partitive (*nɛ*) or the reflexive (*si*). In some dialects, the same clitic is syncretic with the 1pl., as illustrated in (c). However, in Luras the 1pl. is the specialized form *nɔs*; in S. Fili the suppletive dative coincides with the locative, while the 1pl. coincides with the partitive; in Castelsardo two different locatives are involved, namely *vi* for the suppletive dative and *tʃi* for the 1pl.

- 4 a ri dannə keʃtə
to-him= they-give this
'They give him this'

- b tʃə ru dannə
to-him= it= they-give
'They give it to him'

- c tʃə dannə keʃtə
 to-us= they-give this
 'They give us this'

Guardiaregia (CB, Molise)

- a li dajɛ kwistu
 to-him= he-gives this
 'He gives him this'

- b nɛ lu dajɛ
 to-him= it= he-gives
 'He gives it to him'

- c nɛ dajɛ kwistu
 to-us= he-gives this
 'He gives us this'

Nociglia (LE, Apulia)

- a dʲi jaa yustu
 to-him= he-gives this
 'He gives him this'

- b si dʲdu jaa
 to-him= it= he-gives
 'He gives it to him'

- c si ja kustu
 to-us= he-gives this
 'He gives us this'

Paulilatino (OR, Sardinia)

- a li/lil ðana yustu
 to-him/to-them= they-give this
 'They give him/them this'

- b bi lu/la ðana
 to-him= it.m./f.= they-give
 'They give it to him'

- c nɔl ðana yustu
 to-us= they-give this
 'They give us this'

Luras (SS, Sardinia)

- a li unɛ kkissu
 to-him= he-gives this
 'He gives him this'

- b tʃ uː una
 to-him= it= he-gives
 'He gives it to him'

- c ni unɛ kkissu
 to-us= he-gives this
 'He gives us this'

S. Fili (CS, Calabria)

- a li 'daddzini ggistu
 to-him= they-give this
 'They give him this'

- b vi lu 'daddzini
 to-him= it= they-give
 'They give it to him'

- c tʃi 'daddzini ggistu
 to-us= they-give this
 'They give us this'

Castelsardo (SS, Sardinia)

Despite the variation, there appears to be some regularity to the languages in (3)–(4), in the sense that in all cases an oblique (partitive, locative) or *si* form ends up being syncretic/suppletive with a dative (3rd person) or a 1pl. However, in Monteroduni in (5), the dative, in combination with the accusative in (b), and the 1pl. in (c) are lexicalized by the same clitic *tʃə*, which also lexicalizes the locative and the reflexive illustrated here in the comparison example in (b'). In Montenerodomo there is a syncretic form for the dative and the 1pl., which, however, does not overlap with the reflexive, the partitive or the locative. Indeed, the relevant form *jə* is etymologically a 3rd person dative.

- 5 a rə rannə kweʃtə
 to-him= they-give this
 'They give him this'

- b tʃə ru rannə
 to-him/us= it= they-give
 'They give it to him/us'

- b' tʃə laɪvə
 himself= he-washes
 'He washes himself'

- c tʃə rannə kweʃtə
 to-us= they-give this
 'They give us this'

Monteroduni (IS, Molise)

- a jə dɔ kwɪʃtə
 to-him= I-gives this
 'I give him this'

Table 3.1 *Summary of syncretic and suppletive clitics*

	Language	Dat.	Dat./_Acc.	1pl.	Refl.	Loc	Part.
a.	S. Agata	si	fi	ndi	si	–	ndi
	S. Marco	tʃi	tʃi	ni	si	tʃi	ni
	Nocara	nə	nə	sə	sə	tʃə	nə
	Revere	g	g	s	s	g	n
	Civate	ge	ge	ge	se	ge	na
b.	Guardiaregia	ri	tʃə	tʃə	tsə	tʃə	nə
	Nociglia	li	nɛ	nɛ	sɛ	–	nɛ
	Paulilatino	dʒi	si	si	si	kɛ	ndi
	Luras	li	bi	nə	si	bi/kɛ	ɲdɛ
	S. Fili	li	tʃɛ	ni	si	tʃɛ	ni
	Castelsardo	li	vi	tʃi	si	vi/tʃi	ni
	Monteneroduni	rə	tʃə	tʃə	tʃə	tʃə	nə
c.	Montenerodomo	jə	jə	jə	tsə	tʃə	nə

- b jə camə
us= he-calls
'He calls us'

Montenerodomo (CH, Abruzzo)

The data illustrated in (3)–(5) are summarized in Table 3.1, where the syncretic clitics are indicated by the labels 'Dat.' and '1pl.'; 'Dat./_Acc.' corresponds to the context in which the suppletive clitic with dative interpretation precedes the accusative clitic. Reflexive, locative and partitive clitics are indicated for the sake of comparison.

3.1. Discussion

Table 3.1 shows that syncretic/suppletive clitics are different in the various languages, variously coinciding with the *si* clitic, the locative, the partitive and, in Montenerodomo, with the 3rd person (dative) clitic. This variation is to be assessed in relation to the observation that the clitic inventory of the relevant languages is essentially invariant, except for minor differences such as the absence of a locative in some southern Italian dialects (e.g. Nociglia, S. Agata). In short, the different choice of syncretic/suppletive forms is not due simply to a different inventory of forms. If syncretism/suppletion is to be accounted for in terms of the insertion of a default lexical item, as in Distributed Morphology or Optimality, the relevant notion of default is not universal, not even in relation to the pronominal system. If so, then the default must be learned for each language. However, for the default to be set, the entire system must be known, including the default form itself. While this is not problematic for the

linguist who looks at the language from the outside, a contradiction arises from the perspective of the child acquiring the language, for if the default does not have positive specifications, how can it be learnt at all? Moreover, if it has positive specifications from which it can be learnt, how can it be a default at all?

While this is a general conceptual objection to the notion of default, it seems that the spread of data in Table 3.1 raises other potential difficulties for an account in terms of default. In particular, in group (a) in Table 3.1 each language has in fact two defaults, one for 3rd dative and one for 1pl. It is clear that they cannot both be general defaults, otherwise the actual distribution would be underdetermined. A possible solution is to say that one of two clitics is the general default and the other is, say, the 3rd person default. Yet again this is difficult to maintain in the face of the observed variation. By way of example, consider S. Agata and Nocara: the two dialects are a mirror image of each other in the sense that the *si*-type clitic is syncretic for the 3rd dative in S. Agata and for the 1pl. in Nocara, and, vice versa, the *ne*-type clitic is syncretic for the 3rd dative in Nocara and for the 1pl. in S. Agata. If we wanted to treat *ne* in Nocara as a 3rd person default (leaving *si* as the general default), this would imply that the partitive has a 3rd person feature. However, note that this very same property could not be carried over to the partitive in S. Agata, which is syncretic with the 1pl. It should be stressed that this is not an isolated pattern. For example, if *g* is treated as 3rd person default in Revere, then Loc must have a 3rd person feature; but this is inconsistent with the fact that Standard Italian *ci* is syncretic for Loc and 1pl., as in (2b), which would exclude the possibility of Loc being associated with a 3rd person feature.

The account of the same syncretism phenomena in Kayne (2006a; 2007) does not have recourse to notions of default, in the sense that the Paduan overt *ghe* clitic or the Italian *ci* clitic are not inserted in the absence of more specialized clitics. Since Kayne (2007: 9–10) explicitly distances himself from traditional accounts in terms of syncretism, and hence implicitly from default theories such as Distributed Morphology, it is worth noting that one component of those accounts is adopted without any discussion, namely, the assumption that in syncretic contexts the elements that overtly occur are a sort of signpost for elements occurring only abstractly. Against this background, it is not surprising that similar questions of explanatory adequacy arise for Distributed Morphology and for Kayne (2006a; 2007). Thus, as recognized by Kayne (2007), an account in terms of syncretism can only stipulate which categories are syncretic, thereby losing important generalizations. However, exactly the same objection can be levelled against Kayne's (2007) conclusion that the set of abstract elements licensed by *ci* are PLACE, THING, NI. In other words, the categories that *ci* licenses represent an *ad hoc* set.

As for the identity of all the various *ci*'s considered, Kayne (2006a: 25–6) discusses at length the case of Paduan (2a), where his proposal is that the *ghe* of

(2a) ‘is in essence the familiar expletive of existentials’. Yet, in the absence of an explicit discussion by Kayne, how this approach extends to the Standard Italian syncretism in (2b) remains open. Kayne (2006a) puts forth various proposals regarding how the inventory of silent categories licensed by a particular clitic head can be restricted. Thus, Kayne (2006a: n. 7) suggests that ‘perhaps the presence of *ghe* [in examples like (2a)] makes available a phrasal Spec position into which the dative clitic can disappear’. However, there is no indication as to how this general approach, besides allowing the well-formed case, would exclude potentially ill-formed ones.

Furthermore, again in relation to examples of the (2a) type, Kayne (2006a: 5) links the person properties of the silent DATCL with ‘the fact that various languages... have zero for third person pronouns in general (even in the absence of any apparent licenser)’. This apparently explains the fact that DATCL can only have 3rd person reference (and not 1st or 2nd person). In fact, as far as we can see, the analysis envisaged by Kayne (2007) for (2b) is a direct counter-example to the 3rd person generalization, since *ci* licenses a silent 1pl. to the exclusion (in Italian) of a silent 3rd person.

Consider another suppletive/syncretic clitic that Kayne (2006b; 2007) also discusses, namely *si*. This is taken to license DATCL in the Spanish spurious *se* in (1); in a language like Paduan, on the other hand, *si* is found not only as the 3rd person reflexive, but also as the 1pl. reflexive. This leads Kayne (2007) to propose that in Paduan a reflexive sentence in the 1pl. contains overt *si* licensing a silent clitic NE, namely, a specialized 1pl. non-reflexive, as in (6a). This treatment is generalized to languages like Standard Italian with the non-reflexive clitic overtly realized and licensing silent SI, as in (6b). To quote Kayne (2007: 8), ‘*sa/se/si* or a silent counterpart SA/SE/SI are necessarily present in addition to *ma/me/mi* in such sentences in order to avoid a condition B violation’:

- 6 a Noaltri NE se lavemo le man
 we se=wash the hands
 ‘We are washing our hands’
- b Io mi SI lavo le mani
 I me= wash the hands
 ‘I am washing my hands’

The treatment proposed for the Paduan example (6a) raises the question of how the corresponding Revere data in Table 3.1 should be handled. Revere is a language that has *s* for the 1pl. in non-reflexive environments, as exemplified in (3b), and maintains the same form in reflexive contexts. Evidently, it is not possible to propose that the 1pl. of Revere is lexicalized by the nexus ‘NE *si*’ to avoid violations of Binding condition B, otherwise its presence in (3b) would represent a violation of Binding condition A. Similarly, the question arises as to how this theory of *si* can be made compatible with its presence in the spurious *se* environment in (1).

3.2. *More patterns of dative lexicalization*

7 a lu/la/li/le camo
 him/her/them.m./them.f.= I-call
 ‘I call him/her/them’

- b li a kkwe]to
to-him= he- gives this
'He gives him this'

- c issu li a
 he to-him= gives
 'He gives it to him'

a lu/la/lə/li 'vidənə
him/her/them.m./them.f.= they-see
'They see him/her/them'

- b li ða:nə (a) kwistə
 to-him= they-give (to) this
 ‘They give him this’

- c lu/la/lə ða:nə
 him/her/them= they-give
 'They give it to him'

Aliano (MT, Lucania)

Prima facie data such as those of Aliano would seem an ideal candidate for the postulation of a silent DATCL. In reality, the licenser for the DATCL in this case could only be the accusative clitic, which raises the question whether accusative clitics can operate in the same derivation both as clitics filling the accusative slot and as clitics licensing the lexicalization of the dative slot. Furthermore, the distribution in Mascioni shows that in clusters with the dative, the accusative may be silent; consequently, the structural conditions behind the licensing of an abstract clitic do not seem to be predictable.

In a variety like Frigento in (8), the lexicalization of the 3rd person dative in isolation could be described as syncretic with that of the accusative series. In (a) we illustrate the accusative singular; as shown in (b), exactly the same forms lexicalize the dative in isolation. What is especially interesting is that the latter maintains some of the crucial properties of the accusative; in particular, it determines agreement with the perfect participle, as in (c). In combination with an accusative clitic, the dative is lexicalized by a suppletive form, namely the Loc clitic, as in (d).

- 8 a lo/la 'vireno
 him/her= they-see
 'They see him/her'
- b lo/la ranno kwisso
 him/her= they-give this
 'They give him/her this'
- c l anno rato/rata kwesso
 him/her= they-have given.m./given.f. this
 'They have given him/her this'
- d ɲdʒe lo ranno
 to-him= it= they-give
 'They give it to him'

Frigento (AV, Campania)

The data of Frigento are related to a pattern widespread in southern Italian dialects (cf. Rohlfs 1969; Ledgeway 2000), whereby accusative clitics lexicalize in isolation arguments that are lexicalized as datives (possibly syncretic/suppletive) in combination with an accusative. For instance, in Celle in (9a–a'), an accusative clitic lexicalizes the same argument of 'to write' that shows up as a dative in combination with an accusative in (b). In (a') it can be seen that the accusative clitic agrees with the past participle independently of the argument it lexicalizes:

- 9 a u/a ʃ'krivinu
 him/her= they-write
 'They write to him/to her'
- a' l addʒu ʃkrittʉ/ʃkrittʉ
 him/her= I-have written.m./written.f.
 'I have written to him/to her'
- b li ʃkrivu na 'littira
 to-him/to-her= I-write a letter
 'I write a letter to him/to her'

Celle di Bulgheria (SA, Campania)

It seems clear that in dialects like Celle all verbs with a single internal clitic argument treat it as the first internal argument (direct object) and lexicalize it as an accusative, controlling agreement with the past participle. The dative (in this case the *li* form) lexicalizing the second internal argument is reserved for ditransitive contexts. If Frigento is just an instance of the more general pattern also including Celle, examples like (8b) are cases of double accusatives, namely ditransitives proper. This analysis is confirmed by independent observations by Loporcaro (1988: 290ff.) regarding the Altamura dialect (BA), where one finds passives of the type *pəppinʌ vənʌ skrittʌ dʌ lettərə* 'Peppino is written two letters'.

The most directly relevant point for the present discussion is that Frigento has a Loc-type suppletive clitic for the second internal argument of ditransitives, when it occurs in a clitic cluster with the accusative (the first internal argument), as in (8c). One may again wonder what kind of silent category the locative would license in this case in a framework like Kayne's (2006a; 2007). If it licenses DATCL as in the other cases considered so far, the question is whether this clitic is licensed by the overt accusative in examples like (8b). If, on the other hand, Loc licenses a silent accusative, this reinforces a point made above, namely, that the list of silent categories licensed by any given overt lexical item is essentially unpredictable.

4. An alternative proposal

The variation observed so far indicates that the so-called dative is almost always syncretic in Romance. What is more, it can be syncretic with practically any other category in the clitic system. Manzini and Savoia (2002; 2005; 2007) take this as the starting point for a revision of the approaches reviewed in §3 characterized by the representation of an abstract dative feature or category. The idea is that no such feature or category is in fact represented in the grammar. In the particular case of the dative, Manzini and Savoia (2002; 2005; 2007) argue against the existence of such a category, proposing that reference should be made directly to more primitive notions, such as second argument of

ditransitives (possessive, etc.). Yet, independently of this conclusion (on which, see Loporcaro, 2008), the crucial proposal is that there is no abstract category represented in the syntax (dative or other) that underlies the different lexicalization choices illustrated in §3. Rather, the second internal argument of ditransitives (or the dative, if one prefers) has a common lexicalization with the locative, the partitive, *si* or even the accusative clitic, insofar as these represent possible partitions of the conceptual and categorial space. In fact, the only syncretisms (the only lexical partitions) that are excluded are those unifying the dative with 1st and 2nd person specialized forms whose hearer/speaker reference is incompatible with 3rd person reference.

In dialects in which the dative is lexicalized by a locative (e.g. Revere, S. Marco, Civate in Table 3.1), it must be the reference to the spatial coordinates of the event that produces the desired interpretation. The fact that possession can be expressed by a locative specification (cf. Freeze 1992) independently establishes the required connection between the dative and the locative. The comparison with Kayne's (2006a; 2007) theory is very direct: for us the locative is not an expletive that licenses the lexicalization of the possessive/dative, it is the possessive/dative itself. A parallel account can be given of the syncretism between the so-called dative and the other 'oblique' clitic of Romance systems, namely the partitive. The latter takes part in the lexicalization of an argument by denoting a superset to which it belongs. This characterization subsumes the possessive, whereby the possessed item is characterized as a member of a set that, as a whole, defines the possessor (as in the case of 'inalienable' possession). Again, the connection between partitive and dative, for instance as in Nocera in Table 3.1, is naturally mediated by the notion of possession. As for syncretism with *si*, according to Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007; to appear) *si* is a free variable; reflexive, passive and impersonal interpretations arise as a result of the different means that can be employed to bind such a variable (the reflexive through anaphoric binding, the passive through chain formation, the impersonal through generic closure). In this perspective, in dialects such as S. Agata in Table 3.1 the free variable can be taken to introduce a quantificational specification, which we identify with distributivity. Another possibility is that instantiated by Frigento in (8), where the first and the second internal argument of ditransitives share the same lexicalization, namely the *l* series of clitics inflected for nominal class and number. Needless to say, there are also varieties that display a specialized dative, such as the Sardinian dialects of Luras and Paulilatino in Table 3.1, where the dative *li(s)/qi(s)* differs from the accusative paradigm.

A similar approach can be extended to suppletion phenomena in (4). A full account presupposes that the mutual exclusion between the forms of the dative and the accusative in isolation is explained. Indeed, according to Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007), the complementary distribution of the two forms can be explained

by the fact that they compete for the same position, or, more generally, that the *l* definiteness specification of one clitic takes scope over the whole string, thereby excluding the lexicalization of another *l* form. In this perspective, languages such as Mascioni or Aliano in (7) represent the simple case, in which the cluster of accusative-dative is simplified to a single form; which form it is simplified to depends on which specifications (nominal class, namely accusative, or distributivity) are further treated as obligatory in each given language.

Cases of object drop provide a particularly clear term of comparison between the present theory and Kayne's (2006a; 2007). The latter can be read as a generalization of clitic drop to all cases of syncretism and suppletion, so that a dropped, abstractly represented clitic is preserved in all of these environments. By contrast, not only do we treat syncretism (and suppletion) without recourse to abstractly represented categories, but we generalize this approach to what superficially appears to be a genuine case of clitic drop, as in (7). Crucially, these are not notational variants, with or without abstractly represented material, since the abstractly represented clitic in Kayne (2006a; 2007) is syntactically licensed (by edge configurations), while in the present theory all that is licensed is an interpretation at the LF interface corresponding to a given lexicalization (Savoia and Manzini, this volume).

Once the mechanisms of mutual exclusions are understood, suppletive clitics can be explained by the same lexicalization mechanisms as syncretic ones. A striking generalization about groups (a) and (b) in Table 3.1 is precisely that possible cases of suppletion coincide with possible cases of syncretism. The only difference is that in the case, say, of *Spurious se* (here, Paulilantino) the native speaker will learn that the lexicalization of the distributor by the free variable of the system is limited to contexts where it is in the scope of an *l* specification (that of the accusative). The same will hold for suppletive Loc, as in Luras, Castelsardo, Guardiargia and S. Fili, or for the suppletive partitive, as in Nociglia.

Limitations of space prevent us from detailing further the approach that we have now outlined for the lexicalization of the 3rd person dative; this is discussed at great length in several published works (Manzini and Savoia 2002; 2005; 2007). Rather, we shall briefly check the predictions of the model for the other major set of syncretic/suppletive phenomena summarized in Table 3.1, namely, those concerning the 1pl., before concluding with some general remarks on the model itself. The 1pl. corresponds to a well-individuated denotation, namely, that of a set including the speaker. In this case again, the traditional label appears to be inappropriate in more than one respect; thus '1st person' does not allow for the interpretation inclusive of the hearer, and 'plural' cannot be understood as a qualification of 1st person (since 'we' is not a plurality of 'I'). Nevertheless, we may retain the traditional label for ease of reference. Nothing prevents a language from having a specialized lexicalization

for 1pl.; Luras in Table 3.1, group (b), is an example of this. The syncretism of the 1pl. with *si*, as in Revere in Table 3.1, group (a) or in Paulilatino in Table 3.1, group (b), is the one most easily explained. We noted above that *si* is construed by Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007) as a free variable and that this yields, among the other possible readings, the impersonal one obtained through binding of the variable by a generic operator. This characterization of impersonal *si* is independently argued for by Chierchia (1995), who further distinguishes the generic interpretation proper and what he calls an ‘episodic’ interpretation, namely, a contextually restricted one (either by means of temporal specifications or other). In present terms, the 1pl. interpretation that attaches to *si* in some varieties is a particular instance of the episodic *si* interpretation, hence neither the result of its being a default lexical item (Distributed Morphology) nor the result of the presence of a silent NI form (Kayne 2007). Recall that we explained the syncretism of *si* with the dative by reference to a quantificational property of the dative itself, which we tentatively label distributivity. We take it that this same quantificational property underlies the syncretism in Montenerodomo in (5) between the dative and the 1pl.

We construe the syncretism of the 1pl. with the locative along the same lines as the syncretism with *si*. In fact, we agree with Kayne (2006a; 2007) that the key to syncretic Loc lies in its occurrence in existential contexts. However, Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007) argue that the notion of expletive is obscure, especially as expletives ordinarily coincide with arguments. As a specific instance of this more general argument against expletives, we take the Loc clitic in existentials not to be an expletive, but a locative proper, and the same holds of the Loc clitics appearing in inverted subject constructions of many Italian dialects such as Piedmontese (cf. Burzio 1986). These occurrences of the Loc clitic differ from those reviewed so far, in that their reference is generic. This reference is at the basis of its interpretation as the 1pl., namely as a generic contextually restricted set of individuals included in the spatial coordinates of the universe of discourse, and thus including the speaker. There is evidence supporting this construal of the syncretism between locative and 1pl. Thus, in Standard Italian, where the co-occurrence of two *si*’s is not allowed, the impersonal reflexive can be expressed by a cluster of *ci* and *si*, as in (10). It is evident that in such a cluster *ci* has impersonal interpretation. Even more probing in this respect are the data of Monteroduni in Table 3.1, group (c), where the same clitic *tj* lexicalizes the locative and the impersonal/reflexive. In other words, Loc and the reflexive/impersonal can be syncretic, exactly as predicted by the present approach, but not by any other approach reviewed, so far as we can tell.

- 10 *Si/Ci si lava
 Refl/Loc= Refl washes
 ‘One washes oneself’

Analogously, in the present view the coincidence of the 1pl. with the partitive, as in Nociglia in Table 3.1, group (b), is also a consequence of the fact that the *ne* type clitic allows generic reference, in the same way as the *ci*, *si* clitics (cf. 11). Examples such as (11) would seem difficult to describe in terms of an expletive treatment of the clitics involved: for instance, it is not clear whether the expletive should be the partitive or the locative, or both. On the contrary, we take examples like (11) to support the view that generic reference is possible for all oblique clitics, as well as for *si*. This, in turn, forms the basis for the syncretism of partitive *ne* with the 1pl. In other words, due to its generic denotation *ne* may be interpreted with reference to the individuals in the universe of discourse, more specifically to a superset which in any case includes the speaker, that is, ‘us’.

- 11 Ce ne vuole perchè tu capisca
 loc= part.= wants for-that you understand
 ‘It takes quite a bit for you to understand (doesn’t it?)’

Let us draw some conclusions. For Distributed Morphology or for Kayne (2006a; 2007), the features implied in the phenomena of syncretism/suppletion, for instance dative, are represented in syntactic structure; according to the theory, they are lexicalized either by underspecified lexical entries (Distributed Morphology) or by combinations of overt and silent clitics (Kayne). This conception implies that morpho-syntactic structure is defined independently of lexical items. In this sense, it is universal, and the variation concerns which bits are or are not filled in by the lexicon (and the operations that do or do not ensue from them). By contrast, Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007) assume that linguistic structures are projected in their entirety by lexical items. This view provides the most economical implementation of the minimalist postulate of projection of syntactic structure from the lexicon. It also implies a different take on parameterization with respect to the other views considered. What is universal is the inventory of grammatical categories and features; what differs from language to language is the partition of this universal categorial space by the lexicon. This conception of variation is entirely comparable to that found in the non-functional lexicon. In particular, we take it not to be a particularly controversial view of the non-functional lexicon that there is a universal conceptual space that different languages simply partition in (slightly) different ways by means of their actual lexicons. We propose that it is exactly the same for the so-called functional lexicon, so that in fact the distinction between functional and non-functional lexicon becomes irrelevant.

4 Lexicalization of 3rd person object clitics: clitic enclisis and clitic drop

Leonardo M. Savoia and M. Rita Manzini

1. Introduction

The data considered in this chapter illustrate the subtle variation that typically surfaces when the empirical sample includes a sufficient number of related languages that share a similar grammar and differ from each other in minimal morpho-lexical choices.¹ In particular, we consider the lexicalization of 3rd person object clitics in some southern Italian dialects, where they surface normally with lexical verbs, but not with the auxiliary *have*. These cases of overt clitic drop could, in principle, provide evidence in favour of abstractly represented but unpronounced features or categories corresponding to the clitic; this is the account implied by a number of recent morphological and syntactic approaches, such as Halle and Marantz (1993; 1994), Grimshaw (1997; 2001) and Kayne (2006a). We shall argue instead that they are best treated as interpretations at the LF interface, licensed by the lexical material that is overtly realized.

The clitic drop phenomenon that we consider presents the same distribution as phenomena of enclisis in closely related dialects; in some dialects, in fact, the two alternate according to person. We shall therefore offer first an account of enclisis in terms of raising of the auxiliary to C, whereupon the auxiliary comes to precede the clitic, a fairly standard analysis (cf. Kayne 1989b). By the same token, we shall argue that object clitic drop depends on the raising of the auxiliary to C, hence in interpretive terms on the presence of a modal configuration that licenses the required object pronoun interpretation in connection with the intrinsic lexical properties of *have*.

2. The data

In some southern Italian dialects of the Calabro-Lucanian area, the 3rd person object clitic is not lexicalized with *have* when the latter occurs as a perfect auxiliary

¹ This chapter is part of the project co-financed by MIUR *Hierarchical Structures and Recursion in Natural Languages* (2005–7). The data presented here are taken from Manzini and Savoia (2005) and Savoia (2006), to which the reader is referred for full(er) example sets. We thank our kind informants for their collaboration.

or a necessity modal, as Lausberg (1939) observed. A relevant example is the Lucanian variety of Senise (PZ) in (1b).² With a lexical verb, the 3rd person object clitic occurs normally (cf. 1a). Possessive *have* is treated as a main verb maintaining the lexicalization of the clitic (cf. 1c). (1b) also shows that the presence of a negation clitic does not interfere with object clitic drop. Furthermore, 1st/2nd person pronouns are always inserted, as shown in (1d). Note that Senise has two types of accusative proclitics, a vocalic series *u, a, i* that appears before consonants, and an *l*-clitic that appears before vowels. In (1a), the unstressed initial vowel of ‘to bind’ (seen in the imperative in (1a’)) is elided in proclitic contexts, leaving the lexical verb with an initial consonant and hence triggering the insertion of the vocalic clitic series. By contrast, the *l*-clitic appears before *have* in the possessive context in (1c), because the initial vowel is stressed and not elided. As an alternative, a syllabic onset can be inserted in front of the initial stressed vowel, thus reproducing the conditions for the appearance of the vocalic clitic series (cf. 1c’):

- 1 a u/a/i ttækkə
 it.m./it.f./them=I-bind
 ‘I bind it/them’
- a’ attækkə -lə
 bind.imp. =it/them
 ‘Bind it/them!’
- b (nunn) æddʒə camæ:tə
 not= I-have called
 ‘I have(not) called him/her/them’
- c l æddʒə
 it.m./it.f./them= I-have
 ‘I have it/them’
- c’ u/a/i yæddʒə
 itm./it.f./them= I-have
 ‘I have it/them’
- d t æddʒə camæ:tə
 you= I-have called
 ‘I have called you’

Some varieties that otherwise display the same distribution described for Senise differ from it in that the presence of negation implies the lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic before auxiliary and modal *have*, as illustrated for the Calabrian dialect of S. Marco Argentano (CS) in (2b’). Note that in (2b’) the clitic is

² It should be noted that, in general, the dialects discussed here have a single auxiliary for the perfect (i.e. *have*) independently of verb class (cf. the data for Senise, Rotondella, Nocera and Albidona in Manzini and Savoia 2005). In any event, a language selecting *be* with unaccusatives (like Volturino) would not present the accusative clitic in combination with it.

phonologically enclitic to the negation and takes the *l-* form independently of the vocalic or consonantal initial of the following verb:

- 2 a id̥du u/a/i cama
he him/her/them= he-calls
'He calls him/her/them'
- a' u ll̥u/a/i cama
not= him/her/them= he-calls
'He does not call him/her/them'
- b a bbistu/a/i
he-has seen.m.sg./f.sg./pl.
'S/he saw him/her/it/them'
- b' u ll̥ a bbistu/a/i
not= him/her/it/them= he-has seen.m.sg./f.sg./pl.
'S/he did not see him/her/it/them'
- c m a bbistu
me= he-has seen
'S/he saw me'

The Lucanian data from Rotondella (MT) in (3) exemplify the alternation of two different bases of *have*. The first alternant *a-* corresponds to non-insertion of the 3rd person object clitic, including both the accusative, as in (3b), and the dative, as in (3c). The second alternant, *ε-*, occurs in all other contexts, including in conjunction with a person clitic (cf. 3e) or with a lexical object (cf. 3b'). The 3rd person object clitic is lexicalized in combination with a lexical verb (cf. 3a–a') and with possessive *have* (cf. 3c). The presence of negation has no effect on these lexicalizations. The Calabrian data from Nocera (CS) in (4), which otherwise pattern with those for Rotondella, differ from it in that the negation determines the lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic, combined with the *ε-* base of the auxiliary (and modal) *have* (cf. 4b'):

- 3 a (nɔnn) u/a/i ppenn
not it.m./it.f./them= I-hang
'I (do not) hang it/them'
- a' i ranə kwissə
to-him=they-give this
'They give this to him'
- b (ɔnn) addʒə vistə
not= I-have seen
'I have (not) seen him/her/them'
- b' əddʒə camartə a ffratə tujə
I-have called to brother your
'I called your brother'

- c addʒə ratə kwistə
I-have given this
'I have given this to him'
- d l addʒə
it= I-have
'I have it'
- e t ɛddʒə cama:tə
you= I-have called
'I called you'
- 4 a u ttakkə
it=I-bind
'I bind it'
- a' nɔ ru takkə
not= it=I-bind
'I'm not binding it'
- b a ccamətə
he-has called
'S/he called him/her/them'
- b' nɔ ll ɛ ccamətə
not= him/her/them= he-has called
'S/he did not call him/her/them'
- c (tʃə) l addʒə
(there)= it=I-have
'I have it'
- d m ɛ ccamətə
me = he-has called
'S/he called me'

In some varieties the non-insertion of the 3rd person object clitic occurs only in some persons of the *have* paradigm. Thus in the Apulia variety of Volturino (FG) the 3rd person object clitic is dropped in the 2/3sg. of the present perfect (cf. 5b), but not in the other persons, and negation does not interfere with this process. In this variety, the dative clitic is also dropped in the same contexts in which the accusative is not lexicalized (cf. 5c):

- 5 a u/a/i jautsə
it.m./it.f./them= I-raise
'I raise it/them'
- b (nən) l ejə cama:tə
(n) a cama:tə
(n) a cama:tə
(nən) l emə cama:tə
(nən) l etə cama:tə

- (nən) l ennə cama:tə
 not= him/her/them= have called
 'I/You/(S)he/We/You/They have/has (not) called him/her/them'
- c a dætə kwistə
 he-has given this
 'S/he gave this to him/her'
- d m a cama:tə
 me= he-has called
 'S/he called me'

In the Lucanian variety of Cersosimo (PZ) in (6), the lexicalization of the accusative clitic again depends on the person of auxiliary *have*. Thus, the clitic is dropped in combination with the *a*- alternant of the auxiliary in the 3sg. and 2pl., while in the other persons, it is lexicalized in enclisis (on the *ε*- auxiliary). Person clitics are lexicalized in proclisis in all persons, and auxiliary *have* correspondingly presents the *ε*- alternant (cf. 6e–e'); this lexicalization of the P clitic can combine with that of the accusative clitic in enclisis, yielding a split clitic cluster (cf. 6e). Modal *have* presents the lexicalization of the accusative clitic in proclisis in all persons, and correspondingly *have* appears with the *ε*- alternant (cf. 6c–c'). This latter property differentiates modal/auxiliary *have* from possessive *have*, which presents the *a*- alternant in all forms, as well as proclisis of the clitic (cf. 6d):

- 6 a u/a/i 'caməðə
 him/her/them= he-calls
 'He calls him/her/them'
- b (ann) ɛddʒ- u/a/i camatə
 (ann) ɛj- u/a/i camatə
 (ann) a: camatə
 (ann) ɛm- u/a/i camatə
 (ann) avəsə camatə
 (ann) ɛn- u/a/i camatə
 not= have =him/her/them called
 'I/You/(S)he/We/You/They have/has (not) called him/her/them'
- c l ɛddʒ a ca'ma
 him/her/them= I-have to call.inf.
 'I have to call him/her/them'
- c' l ɛ dda ca'ma
 him/her/them= he-has from call.inf.
 'S/he has to call him/her/them'
- d l addʒə
 it=I-have
 'I have it'

e t ɛddʒ u datə
 you= I-have =it given
 'I have given it to you'

e' m ɛ camatə
 me= he-has called
 'He called me'

In the Calabrian dialect of Albidona (CS), in (7) the accusative clitic is inserted in enclisis in the 1sg. and 3pl., while it appears in proclisis in the other persons (cf. 7b). Negation requires the clitic (phonologically enclitic on the negation) to precede the verb, as in (7b'). Similarly, the accusative is proclitic to lexical verbs (cf. 7a), as well as modal and possessive *have* (cf. 7c–d). Other clitics, including 1st/2nd persons as well as the dative, occur in proclisis on auxiliary *have*, leading to the clitic cluster being split in (7e), where the P(erson) clitic precedes the auxiliary and the accusative clitic follows it. Example (7e') shows that the accusative clitic can itself have a split lexicalization, since the *l*-consonantal base appears before the auxiliary, while the vocalic nominal class (gender) inflection appears in enclisis on the same:

- 7 a u/a/i 'βiðənə
 him/her/them= they-see
 'They see him/her/them'
- a' ɔ llə/lla/λλə 'βiðənə
 not him/her/them= they-see
 'They do not see him/her/them'
- b ddʒ- u/a/i βistə
 l ɛ βistə
 l ɛ bbistə
 m- u/a/i βistə
 l aβəsə βistə
 n- u/a/i βistə
 (him/her/them=) have (=him/her/them) seen
 'I/You/(S)he/We/You/They have/has seen him/her/them'
- b' ɔ llə/λλə ddʒə βistə
 not= him/her/them=I-have seen
 'I have not seem him/her/them'
- c lə/λλə ddʒ a ca'ma
 him/her/them=I-have to call.inf.
 'I have to call him/her/them'
- d l/λ addʒə
 it/them=I-have
 'I have it/them'

Table 4.1 *Lexicalization and non-lexicalization of accusative clitics*

	Senise	Rotondella	S.Marco	Nocara	Volturino	Cersosimo	Albidona
1sg.	–	– (a)	–	– (a)	+	+ (encl.)	+ (encl.)
2sg.	–	– (a)	–	– (a)	–	+ (encl.)	+
3sg.	–	– (a)	–	– (a)	–	– (a)	+
1pl.	–	– (a)	–	– (a)	+	+ (encl.)	+ (encl.)
2pl.	–	– (a)	–	– (a)	+	– (a)	+
3pl.	–	– (a)	–	– (a)	+	+ (encl.)	+ (encl.)
Neg.	idem	idem	+	+	idem	idem	+
Modal	idem	idem	idem	idem	idem	+	+

e (ɔn) tə/ɫ ddʒ- u datə
 not to-you/to -him=I-have =it given
 ‘I have (not) given it to you/him’

e’ ɔ llə ddʒ- u/a βistə
 not= him/her= I-have =him/her seen
 ‘I did not see him/her’

In Table 4.1, the left-hand column indicates the persons in the present perfect; non-lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic is marked by ‘–’ and its lexicalization by ‘+’. In turn (a) indicates that the *a*- alternant of the auxiliary is lexicalized in combination with the absence of the 3rd person object clitic, while ‘encl.’ refers to the postverbal position of the clitic. The last two lines of the left-hand column, ‘Neg.’ and ‘Modal’, refer to the lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic in negative contexts and in conjunction with modal *have*; ‘idem’ indicates identity with the conditions summarized for positive contexts with auxiliary *have*. Dialects that present the lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic in proclisis are indicated by ‘+’. The relevant examples can be found in Manzini and Savoia (2005) and Savoia (2006), though they are only partially provided in (1)–(7).

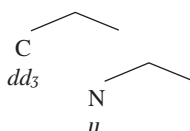
To begin with, we exclude a phonological-type explanation. For dialects like Senise, a phonological solution would assume that the accusative vocalic clitics, which occur before a verb beginning with a consonant in (1a), are assimilated to the initial vowel of auxiliary *have* in (1b). Here, the crucial argument is that *have* as a verb of possession is treated in a different way. Thus, when the initial vowel is stressed, main verb *have* can be preceded by the consonantal *l*- clitic, as in (1c). Alternatively, a consonantal onset can be inserted before the initial vowel, licensing the insertion of the vocalic accusative clitic (cf. 1c’). The other major pattern of lexicalization of accusative clitics before lexical verbs is elision of an initial unstressed vowel (cf. 1a). There are no prosodic reasons why none of these options is taken with auxiliary/modal *have*.

Another argument against the prosodic account comes from those varieties like Volturino in (5) where the process is subject to a person split. Clearly, if the consonantal *l*-clitic can be inserted in front of the 1sg. or the plural, there is no prosodic reason it should not be inserted in the 2/3sg. as well. Similarly, the vocalic alternation between *ε*- and *a*-, associated with the insertion and the absence of the clitic, respectively, cannot be of a phonological nature, since in all the relevant varieties (cf. 3, 4, 6) the sequence /la/ is normally attested as much as the sequence /le/. This argument is reinforced by the observation that other verbs that begin with a vowel, including possessive *have*, do not have vocalic alternants sensitive to the presence, or not, of an (interpreted) 3rd person object clitic.

3. Enclisis on the auxiliary

Following in essence the analysis of enclisis proposed by Kayne (1989b), we account for enclitic sequences of the type *ddʒ-u/a/i* in Albidona in (7b) by assuming that the auxiliary is inserted in C, while the accusative clitic is inserted below it in the inflectional I-domain, as in (8). Note that the accusative position is labelled N, as in Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007); however, for present purposes a D(P) label annotated with accusative Case would suffice. The participle is treated as an independent sentence (as is the infinitival clause following modal *have*), though its structure is not indicated here:

8 Albidona

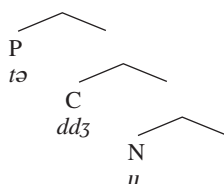


The fact that enclisis, namely, lexicalization of the verb in C, is limited to the auxiliary recalls similar asymmetries in other languages, including Arbëresh dialects (Manzini and Savoia 2007), Macedonian (Fici 2001; Fici, Manzini and Savoia 2001) and English itself, where only auxiliaries move to C in root interrogatives. Pollock (1989) proposes that this contrast should be derived from the fact that main verbs have a full thematic structure, while auxiliary verbs do not. However, we cannot adopt this line of explanation if we want to maintain, as seems reasonable, that there is a single verb *have* with the same transitive argument structure involved in both possession and auxiliary contexts (Manzini and Savoia 2005; 2007). Rather, the analysis that we propose relies on the idea that the verbal positions of the C field have modal properties. In this perspective, the perfect auxiliary *have* is inserted in C, as in (8), because of some modal properties of the perfect, despite what appears to be its purely aspectual nature.

Specifically, Bonomi (1997) characterizes imperfective aspect in terms of a universal or generic quantification over events, whereas perfective morphology corresponds to an existential quantification. We take it that modality, in particular the fundamental realis vs irrealis split (cf. Manzini (2000) on the Italian subjunctive; Baker and Travis (1997) on Algonquian languages), reduces to properties of universal vs existential quantification over possible worlds. Universal quantification over possible worlds yields irrealis, while realis corresponds to an existential quantification. In this perspective, the connection between the perfective auxiliary and the C field can be mediated by some notion of existential quantification over events/possible worlds.

Now, only accusative clitics occur in enclisis on the auxiliary, as in (8), whereas other clitics, which include Person clitics, but also the dative, occur in proclisis. We conclude that when the auxiliary is in C, although the accusative is inserted in the I-domain, other object clitics are inserted in the C-domain, as shown in (9). In this structure, we associate 1st/2nd person clitics with the specialized category P, in accordance with the labelling conventions of Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007):

9 Albidona

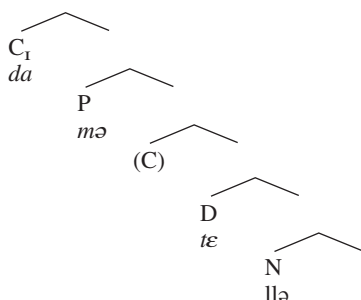


Quite interestingly, in Albidona the splitting of the clitic cluster is maintained in the imperative, as exemplified in (10). In particular, while the accusative appears in enclisis, the P clitic appears in mesocclisis between the verb stem and the verb inflection (Halle and Marantz (1993; 1994) discuss a similar phenomenon in Caribbean Spanish). Data of the type in (10) are analysed in detail by Manzini and Savoia (2004; 2005; 2007), who argue that the verb base moves to a high position in the C field, labelled C_1 in (11), while the verb inflection is stranded in a position corresponding to that of subject clitics, labelled D in (11). The crucial point is that if the Person and accusative clitics maintain the positions that we attribute to them in (9), the splitting of the clitic cluster in (10) follows, as indicated in (11). In other words, these clitic positions are motivated independently of the phenomenon at hand:

- 10** da-mə-te-llə
 give=me-2pl.=it
 'Give it to me'

Albidona

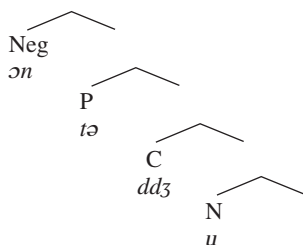
11 Albidona



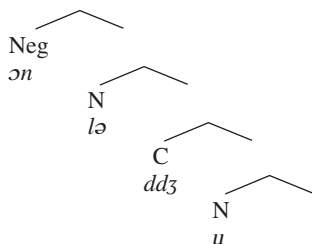
The split between N clitics and P (or other) clitics can be treated as a version of the so-called person split, whereby 3rd person patterns differently from 1st and 2nd persons. Thus, different lexicalization conditions attach to elements directly anchored to the discourse like 1st and 2nd persons, and elements like the so-called 3rd person, whose reference is directly anchored to the event. The fact that locatives pattern with P clitics can be ascribed to their discourse-anchored nature. Analogously, for discourse-anchored interpretations of *si* one need only consider the semantics of so-called impersonal *si*, as described by Chierchia (1995). As for datives, the reference is to Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007; this volume), who treat them as quantificational-like elements, specifically distributors, and as such characterized independently of the argument slot they are anchored to. Given this background, the generalization is that clitics whose reference is directly anchored to the discourse appear in the C-domain, when this domain is independently lexicalized by some modal form. On the other hand, under the same conditions accusative clitics, namely, the clitics that are necessarily anchored to the event, appear in the lower I-domain. We shall return to this split in §3.2.

3.1. *Effects of negation and person split*

Data such as that for Albidona in (7b') show that negation blocks enclisis on the auxiliary and requires the clitic to precede the verb. A classic generative approach accounts for this effect in terms of Minimality (Rizzi 1990; Roberts 1994), in that a Neg head would impede the movement of a verb from the I to the C position. Nevertheless, there is evidence that suggests that the verb is in C, even in the presence of a negation, since in (7e) the P clitic precedes the auxiliary, which, in turn, precedes the accusative. The structure in (12) accounts for this string by associating the clitic *tə* with the C-domain and the *u* clitic with the I-domain. The negation that precedes the entire clitic string will, in turn, be within the C field:

12 Albidona

A similar account can be given for example (7e'), displaying an alternative lexicalization for the combination of *have* with the accusative clitic and negation. As shown in the structure in (13), this has the *lə* clitic in the C-domain coupled with the *u* clitic in the I-domain, again with the auxiliary in C. The *lə* clitic lexicalizes properties of definiteness, while the vocalic clitic lexicalizes nominal class:

13 Albidona

The fact remains that negation cannot simply be followed by the auxiliary with the *u* clitic in enclisis, yielding **ɔn dɔʒ u*. We account for this by assuming that in the (irrealis) modal environment determined by negation, if clitics are present, one of them must lexicalize the C-domain. A lexicalization of the accusative clitic in the I-domain is also possible, but only so long as it combines with the obligatory lexicalization in the C-domain, as in (12)–(13). By contrast, in Cersosimo (cf. 6) the accusative clitic occurs in enclisis on the auxiliary even in negative contexts. We conclude that there is an independent parameter determining whether the modal domain created by the negation requires the lexicalization of even the accusative clitic in the C-domain.

It will be noted that the accusative clitics phonologically enclitic on the negation in (12)–(13) and on the imperative in (11) present the *l*-base, while the accusative clitics phonologically enclitic on the auxiliary present the vocalic form. Based on a systematic investigation of negative and imperative contexts, Manzini and Savoia (2005) conclude that the *l*-base is determined

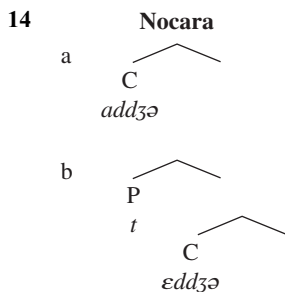
by irrealis contexts. The contrast with enclisis on the auxiliary counts as a counterexample to the idea that there is some prosodic explanation of enclitic *l-*.

Let us then consider the fact that enclisis is found only in the 1 persons and 3pl. of the present perfect in Albidona, while other forms of the auxiliary display proclisis of the accusative clitic. Since clitics other than the accusative are independently found in proclisis with the auxiliary in C, as in (9) and (12), we assume that proclisis of the accusative also reflects the insertion of the auxiliary in C and of the accusative clitic itself in the C-domain. In these terms, the pattern to be explained is enclisis, namely the fact that the relevant forms of *have* require a lexicalization of the accusative clitic in the inflectional domain as in (8)–(13).

Now, the split between the 2nd person and the 3sg., with proclisis, and the other persons, with enclisis, recalls other types of person dissociation, for example with auxiliary selection in some southern Italian varieties where the 2nd person (singular) and the 3sg. select *be* while the other persons select *have*. As discussed in Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007), the 2sg. and the 3rd person are canonically related to the universe of discourse and the structure of the event, respectively. We take it that this canonical anchoring leads to the emergence of what we consider to be the normal lexicalization of the accusative for modal environments, namely, in proclisis in the C-domain. The other persons, i.e. 1 and 3sg as in (8)–(9) and (12)–(13), require the non-modal anchoring of the internal argument clitic in the inflectional domain.

4. Object clitic drop, with and without specialized forms of the auxiliary

In the variety of Cersosimo in (6), enclisis of the accusative clitic on the auxiliary in the 1st person, in the 2sg. and in the 3pl. alternates in the 3sg. and in the 2pl. with the non-lexicalization of the accusative clitic together with the insertion of the specialized *a-* base of the auxiliary (instead of the *ε-* base). We take this as a clue that this latter phenomenon also depends on the insertion of the auxiliary in C in varieties like Rotondella (cf. 3) and Nocara (cf. 4), where it is found in the entire paradigm of the present perfect. Specifically, we propose that the auxiliary in C yields structures of the type in (14) for the case of Nocara in (4). The P and Loc clitics and *si*, namely, those interpreted in relation to the universe of discourse rather than through their anchoring to the event, are inserted within the modal C-domain as in (14b). The 3rd person object clitic is not lexicalized at all (either in proclisis or in enclisis), but, rather, corresponds to the presence of the initial *a-* of the *have* auxiliary, as in (14a), which alternates with the initial *ε-* in (14b):



The so-called dative in a language like Nocara coincides with the partitive *ne*. As we might expect, *ne* patterns with discourse-anchored clitics. Rotondella, however, has an *i* clitic for the dative in isolation (cf. 3a'), and this is dropped in combination with the *a*- alternant for *have* (cf. 3c). The *i* form itself is syncretic, namely, with the accusative plural. As discussed in detail by Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007), what underlies this syncretism is the quantificational (plural or distributive) interpretation of the *i* morphology. This shared property of accusative and dative provides a basis for the fact that they pattern alike with respect to *have*.³

The interpreted but non-lexicalized accusative clitic in (14a) could in principle be accounted for by assuming that an abstract node is present in syntactic structure. Such an analysis is consistent with the Late Insertion approach of Distributed Morphology, under which one could assume that the accusative clitic is not lexically realized because of some morphological readjustment reflected in the auxiliary base, such as Fusion (namely, incorporation) of the accusative features in the auxiliary. Excluding, for general reasons, analyses based on an autonomous morphological level (Manzini and Savoia 2005; 2007; this volume), one could hypothesize the existence of a non-pronounced syntactically represented clitic along the lines of Kayne's (2005b; 2006a) 'silent' categories approach. This silent clitic would presumably be licensed by the *a*-auxiliary. Elsewhere (Manzini and Savoia, this volume) we have discussed reasons why the silent clitic analysis appears questionable in cases of syncretism and suppletion that it also aims to account for. This commits us to a different solution in the case at hand.

In particular, we propose that the absence of a 3rd person object clitic corresponds to an interpretation licensed at LF by the *a*- auxiliary in C, essentially as

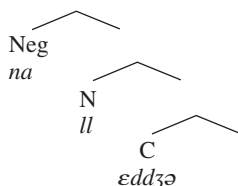
³ The \wedge dative of Albidona is also syncretic with (an allomorph of) the accusative plural, but as we saw in §2, it patterns with discourse-anchored clitics. In this latter case, it is the different interpretation (plural vs distributor) of the shared quantificational properties that provides a basis for the different behaviour of the two clitics. Far from representing a problem, this kind of difference is precisely what we are led to expect by our microparametric approach.

in other theories the *a-* auxiliary licenses abstract feature-bundles or silent categories. The reasons underlying the person split in Cersosimo in (6) can be the same as those reviewed for Albidona in §2. Briefly, the 2nd (singular) and 3sg. are singled out by their canonical anchoring to the discourse and the event respectively and, correspondingly, have the accusative interpreted without lexicalization in combination with the *a-* auxiliary alternant. Other persons require the lexicalization of the accusative in enclisis in the inflectional domain.

In the dialects that have the relevant phenomenon, the *a-* alternant lexicalizes not only the auxiliary incorporating the 3rd person object clitic interpretation, but also possessive *have*. We have no reasons to believe that the latter is lexicalized in any other position than the normal I position of lexical verbs; therefore the *l-* form of the 3rd person object clitic is in this case prosodically determined by the fact that *have* begins with a vowel. The same *a-* verb, when lexicalized in C because of the modal properties of the perfective construction, can subsume reference to the 3rd person object clitic. The *ε-* alternant is inserted as the modal auxiliary in C in contexts where the 3rd person object clitic is normally lexicalized (or not present at all not even interpretively).

In general, *have* as a necessity modal patterns with perfective auxiliary *have*, which is fully expected, given the modal reading that we have attributed to the latter. The Cersosimo necessity modal, however, presents no person split, but proclisis of *l-* combined with the *ε-* alternant of *have* throughout the paradigm (cf. 6c–c'). Since the *ε-* forms of the auxiliary are in C, we can assume that those of the necessity modal are also inserted there. Therefore, the contrast between the auxiliary and the necessity modal in Cersosimo reduces to the fact that the special conditions of lexicalization attaching to the 2nd and 3sg. (object drop with the *a-* alternant of *have*) are restricted to the auxiliary. Similarly, in Albidona in (7) the necessity modal displays proclisis in the entire paradigm, which means that the special enclitic lexicalization of the accusative is restricted to (the relevant persons of) the auxiliary.

As for negation, in some varieties such as Nocara in (4) it causes the auxiliary to surface with the *ε-* alternant and the 3rd person object clitic to surface in proclisis. Following the discussion in §2, we assume that the alternation between positive and negative contexts does not depend on the different position of the verb, but on the fact that the negation determines the lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic within the C-domain (cf. 15). In the varieties of Rotondella in (3) and Cersosimo in (6), however, the presence of negation does not imply any alternation with respect to positive contexts. We analyse this difference by assuming that neither in Rotondella nor in Cersosimo does the modal domain created by the negation impose a requirement on clitic forms.

15 Nocara**4.1. Object clitic drop**

We are now in a position to return to the fact that in varieties such as Senise or S. Marco (cf. 1–2) the 3rd person object clitic is not lexicalized in contexts with auxiliary *have*. If our discussion is correct, this type of object drop forms a continuum with other phenomena also involving the interaction between object clitics and auxiliary *have*, namely enclisis and the change in the initial of *have*. If so, we are led to conclude that object drop is also licensed by the same syntactic configuration as these other phenomena, namely the insertion of the auxiliary in C determined by the modal character of the perfect.

The interpreted, non-lexicalized 3rd person object clitic could in principle correspond to an empty category, represented in syntax but not pronounced at Spell-Out. However, while the data are compatible with this solution, they do not provide any evidence in its favour. Rather, reasoning on the basis of what we have just argued for Nocara (cf. 14), namely, that the *a*- auxiliary subsumes the lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic licensing its interpretation at LF, we propose that in Senise in (1) and S. Marco in (2) the auxiliary in C does the same, without the need for any specialized morphology.

Object drop can also be subject to a person split, as in Volturino (cf. 5), where it characterizes the 2sg. and 3sg. of the present perfect (and the necessity modal), while in the other persons (as well as in the pluperfect) the accusative and dative clitics appear in proclisis. We have already attributed the absence of the clitic to the insertion of the verb in C, but, as argued for other varieties with person splits (Albidona and Cersosimo in §3), proclisis also corresponds to the modal position of *have* in C. The person split in Volturino, which opposes the 2sg. and 3sg. to the other forms of the paradigm, is also of the same kind independently seen for Albidona and Cersosimo. Briefly, these forms correspond to the canonical discourse-anchored and event-anchored referents, respectively. As such, they correlate with the 3rd person object clitic not being lexicalized and its interpretation being licensed by the auxiliary (whether as an accusative, i.e. first internal argument, or as a dative, i.e. the second internal argument of ditransitives).

The object drop of Volturino with its alternation with proclisis of the clitic in the C-domain could provide evidence in favour of the idea of Kayne (2005b; 2006a) that ‘silence’ correlates with edge position. By the same reasoning, however, one might conclude that in Cersosimo, where object drop alternates with enclisis, ‘silence’ corresponds to enclisis, namely, what would appear to be an anti-edge configuration. The point here is not that the data could not be made compatible with Kayne’s (2005b; 2006a) approach by saying, for instance, that object drop is from a proclitic (edge) position in Cersosimo as well. Rather, as far as we can tell, such a theory would need all of the categorial distinctions that we have introduced here, concerning the person split, the interpretation of *have*, the event-anchored and discourse-anchored series of clitics, the alternations between vocalic and consonantal 3rd person clitics, negation and possibly more. However, in addition to all of this, the theory might have to make a further stipulation about the preverbal or post-verbal position of the silent clitic.

In general, it is legitimate to use abstract devices in order to systematize the analysis of the data. However, it should be clear that in this case only an abstract descriptive device is at stake, and a particularly powerful one. In this sense, we share the concern of Culicover and Jackendoff (2005: 47) over the bias of current generative theorizing in favour of what they call Interface Uniformity, namely, the principle that ‘the syntax-semantics interface is maximally simple, in that meaning maps transparently into syntactic structure; and it is maximally uniform, so that the same meaning always maps onto the same syntactic structure’. Interface Uniformity may or may not be a good guiding principle for morpho-syntactic description; as it turns out, we have argued here and elsewhere (Manzini and Savoia 2005; 2007; this volume) that it often correlates with loss of predictive power with respect to the observed morpho-lexical forms. In any event, the satisfaction of Interface Uniformity should not be taken as a sufficient criterion for determining the adequacy of an analysis.

In summary, the basic result of the analysis presented in this study consists in the unified treatment of phenomena of non-lexicalization, incorporation and enclisis of the 3rd person object clitic. Alternative analyses require that the interpreted non-lexicalized elements be represented in terms of abstract features or categories at some level of derivation. This is connected to the fact that they typically separate functional items from other lexical items. Thus, within Distributed Morphology Embick (2000:187) states ‘[a] further background assumption concerns the distinction between the *functional* and *lexical* vocabularies of a language. I will assume that functional categories merely instantiate sets of abstract syntacticosemantic features.’ A conceptually similar arrangement characterizes the model discussed by Kayne (2005b; 2006a), according to whom functional items are imputable to a sort of universal system, and variation depends on the way in which they are realized.

In the present proposal, actual properties of lexical items determine interpretation, through their interaction with the semantic and pragmatic principles of UG and the conceptual-intentional system. The morphological structure of a word may, therefore, contain formatives associated with a particular interpretation, as is the case of the alternation between the ε - base of auxiliary *have* and its incorporating *a*- base. In other cases, there may not be a direct morphological representation of the relevant information; in any case, it is the actual lexical features of the items concerned together with the scopal properties accruing to them from their syntactic point of merger that will license different interpretations. We therefore assume that, in the absence of any abstractly represented clitic category or feature-bundle, the object clitic interpretation arises in object clitic drop contexts of the type considered here as a result of such properties as the transitive argument frame of *have*, interacting with its modal positioning in perfective (and necessity) contexts. This hypothesis has allowed us to unify apparently different phenomena, such as the incorporation of the 3rd person object clitic, its enclisis and its non-lexicalization. In this regard, we may also ask ourselves how far a radical difference between functional and lexical items is sustainable on an empirical and theoretical level. In fact, as we have seen, a simpler solution is at hand, which considers properties generally classified as functional as properties not substantially different from the other lexical properties.

5 Proclitic vs enclitic pronouns in northern Italian dialects and the null-subject parameter

Anna Cardinaletti and Lori Repetti

1. Introduction

Since the seminal work by Brandi and Cordin (1981; 1989), Burzio (1986) and Rizzi (1986), the unstressed subject pronouns of northern Italian dialects (NIDs) have been considered (clitic) heads different from, for example, their French preverbal counterparts, which are considered maximal projections, namely ‘phonological clitics’ (Kayne 1983) or ‘weak pronouns’ (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999).¹ As these clitic forms have been considered to be realizations of Infl (or, in minimalist terms, T’s ϕ -/D-features), NIDs have consequently been analysed as Null-Subject Languages (NSLs) on a par with Italian. Differently from Italian, however, subject clitics are needed (in some persons of the paradigm) to enrich Infl in order to license *pro*. More recent works, such as Poletto (2000; 2005a), Gorla (2004) and Roberts (in press), have essentially continued this type of analysis.

Language-internal, cross-linguistic and neurolinguistic data have led us to reconsider the status of NIDs as NSLs. We claim that NIDs are not full *pro-drop* languages. They allow *pro* only in some persons of the paradigm, trivially those in which no clitic pronoun appears. In the other persons, the clitic pronoun is the true subject, and no *pro* occurs. For subject clitics we assume essentially the same analysis adopted for object clitics since Kayne (1975). Among other things, this novel approach allows us to analyse the different distribution of subject pronouns in proclisis and enclisis without resorting to the ‘two-paradigm’ hypothesis. We show that subject clitics compete with null subjects, and that competition is resolved in an intricate way across sentence types (and across dialects). This analysis of subject clitics raises a number of questions with regard to the properties of NSLs: the relationship between rich inflection and *pro*, the lack

¹ This chapter was presented in preliminary versions at the *25th GLOW Colloquium*, Amsterdam, 9–11 April 2002, at the *Conference on Null Subjects and Parametric Variation*, Reykjavik, 18–19 July 2003, at the *Third Workshop on The Null-Subject Parameter and Related Issues*, University of Cambridge, 15 December 2003, and at the *First Cambridge Italian Dialect Syntax Meeting*, April 2006. We thank the audiences for questions and comments, and Paolo Chinellato and one anonymous reviewer for comments and criticism on a previous draft.

of overt expletives and the existence of subject inversion phenomena. Our analysis also shows that NIDs instantiate another type of NSL not discussed in Holmberg (2005). Using Holmberg's terminology, NIDs are neither consistent NSLs (Italian), nor partial NSLs (Finnish, Brazilian Portuguese, Hebrew). Since they are a subtype of consistent NSLs, we call them *non-consistent* NSLs.

2. The analysis of subject clitics

In most NIDs, subject clitic pronouns appear in preverbal position in declarative sentences (cf. 1a) and in postverbal position in (root) interrogatives (cf. 1b). The following is a typical paradigm ('to drink') taken from the dialect of Donceto, an Emilian dialect spoken in the province of Piacenza:²

1	a	(ə)-	'be:v	b	'be:v	-jə
		ət-	'be:v		'be:v	-ət
		əl-	'be:və		'be:və	-l
		(ə)-	bu'vum		bu'vum	-jə
		(ə)-	bu'vi		bu'vi:	-v
		i-	'be:vən		'be:vən	-jə

There are reasons to believe that the optional preverbal schwa in the 1sg., 1pl. and 2pl. is not a subject clitic, but the default realization of a clausal functional head (Cardinaletti and Repetti 2004). Whatever the analysis of this element, it is uncontroversial that when nothing appears in front of the verb, the subject is null. A sentence containing, for example, a 1sg. verb should be analysed as in (2), where *pro* occurs in SpecTP like overt weak pronouns:³

- 2 [TP *pro* be:v ... [VP *pro*-be:v]]

We follow Holmberg (2005) in assuming that what allows a null subject of the Italian type is an uninterpretable D feature on T, which must be valued by *pro*. We take Donceto T in (2) to be as in Italian: 1sg., 1pl. and 2pl. T has a D feature valued by *pro*.⁴ In the 2sg., 3sg. and 3pl., we do not assume the current structure in (3), in which *pro* occurs in addition to the clitic:

² Unless otherwise indicated, all data reported in this study are from field research. The patterns found in the Emilian dialects of Donceto and Gazzoli are common throughout Emilia-Romagna (see Repetti, to appear, and references quoted there).

³ On the proposal that *pro* is a weak pronoun in SpecTP, see Cardinaletti (1997), Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: §3.4). We differ from Kayne (2001: 206f.), who assumes that 1st and 2nd person agreement suffixes are pronouns, and that no *pro* is present in these persons. NIDs like Donceto offer evidence that this cannot be true: if verbal endings were incorporated subjects, what are 1st and 2nd person enclitic pronouns in interrogatives (e.g. *bu'vum-jə?*) in (1b)?

⁴ Holmberg (2005) points out that in the minimalist framework, the pro-licensing analysis can no longer be assumed. If functional heads have uninterpretable features that must be valued by categories with the corresponding interpretable features (Chomsky 2001), it is *pro* itself that values the uninterpretable features of T.

3 [TP pro ət be:v ... [VP ~~pro~~ be:v]]

Instead, we take the subject clitic pronoun to be the true subject of the clause. In a derivational approach to clitic placement (Kayne 1975), a sentence containing, for example, a 2sg. verb can be represented as follows:⁵

4 [XP ət be:v [TP ~~ət~~ be:v ... [VP ~~ət~~ be:v]]]

As in the case of object clitics, subject clitic movement is decomposed into XP-movement followed by head-movement (Sportiche 1989; Cardinaletti and Starke 1999; Belletti 1999). From the derivation it follows that clitic pronouns occupy a higher position than weak pronouns.⁶ If weak subjects occur in SpecTP (2), clitic subjects must adjoin to a functional head higher than T, which we call X in (4). Following current proposals (see Sigurðsson and Holmberg (2008) for a very recent discussion), we take person and number features to be encoded in clausal heads. As shown by the clitic doubling structure in (5), where the order is ‘full subject – clitic subject’, XP (PersonP) is located between TP and SubjP (i.e. the projection hosting full subjects; Cardinaletti 1997; 2004). These projections build the ‘subject-field’.⁷

5 [SubjP ly / l ɔm [XP əl be:və [TP... əl vɛŋ]]]
 he / the-man scl.3sg.= drinks the wine
 ‘He/the man drinks the wine’

Extending Roberts’ (in press) analysis of object clitics to subject clitics, cliticization is triggered by Agree. X contains the unvalued versions of the ϕ -features that make up the subject clitic. The clitic incorporates into X to value its ϕ -features. If Roberts (in press) is correct in assuming that clitic pronouns cannot incorporate into heads with an EPP feature, and if T has an EPP feature universally (Chomsky 1995; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998: 518), it follows that T cannot qualify as the incorporation host for subject clitics.⁸ From a typological perspective, languages with subject clitics activate the head X of the subject field, whereas the presence of EPP on T requires that the derivation

⁵ Our proposal is not entirely novel. Kayne (2001: 207) also suggests that 3rd person clitics do not co-occur with *pro*.

⁶ This is clearly shown by object pronouns. The Italian 3pl. dative clitic *gli* is higher than weak *loro*:

i	a	Maria	ha dato loro	un libro loro
		Mary	has given to-them	a book
	b	Maria gli	ha dato gli	un libro gli
		Mary to-him=	has given	a book
		‘Mary has given them/him a book’		

⁷ See Belletti (1999: 556) for the analysis of subject clitic doubling in terms of the big DP hypothesis. This is compatible with the derivational analysis of subject clitics assumed here.

⁸ Gorla (2004: 96f.) discusses several arguments against Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou’s (1998) and Manzini and Savoia’s (2005) idea that subject clitics are EPP checkers.

proceed as in (4), where the clitic first moves to SpecTP as a maximal projection.⁹ Roberts' proposal, in turn, implies that the XP projection does not have an EPP feature, a desirable result, since it would be unclear what would fill SpecXP in the presence of a subject clitic (expletive pro?). Lack of EPP on X, in turn, excludes pro as a possible goal for X.

On a par with T, X has V-features and attracts the finite verb. Following a proposal by Sigurðsson and Holmberg (2008: 10), X-probing is activated by T-raising, that is, T cannot probe ϕ -features unless it has joined X. Subject clitics end up in the same head as the verb, which explains: (i) their proclitic position; (ii) the traditional observation that clitics need a host; (iii) the empirical observation that nothing can intervene between subject clitics and the verb (apart from other clitics, which must have attached to the verb before T-to-X).¹⁰

In the following sections, we provide evidence for the proposal that NIDs are non-consistent NSLs and, consequently, that subject clitics cannot be analysed as inflectional morphology or elements realizing inflectional heads, but must be analysed as pronouns on a par with their object counterparts.

3. Language internal evidence: proclisis vs enclisis

As shown in (1), in interrogatives a pronoun appears also in those persons (1sg., 1pl. and 2pl.) that do not require one in declaratives. In the licensing theory of pro, this is surprising: why can a 1sg., 1pl. and 2pl. Infl license pro by itself in declaratives, but a subject clitic is needed in interrogatives? If clitics are taken to realize Infl and license null subjects, this is unexpected: the properties of Infl should not change from declarative to interrogative sentences. The same problem arises in more recent minimalist accounts. If what makes a language an NSL is a D feature on T (Holmberg 2005), Donceto 1sg., 1pl. and 2pl. T has such a feature: why should it lose it in interrogative sentences? To account for these cases, two series of subject clitics have been assumed: one for declaratives and one for interrogatives. We call this the *two-paradigm hypothesis*. This hypothesis has been phrased in various ways. The postverbal material has been analysed either as a separate paradigm from the preverbal series (Poletto 1993: 216; Munaro 1999: 11, 19) or as verbal affixes (Benincà and Vanelli 1982:

⁹ By saying that incorporation is the most economical way of probing a head, Roberts (in press) implies the existence of Minimize Structure (cf. Cardinaletti and Starke 1999: §7).

¹⁰ In declaratives, enclisis is prevented by cycle considerations. Furthermore, an enclitic would intervene between the verb and the probe head (cf. note 14). Proclisis in declaratives is not immediately explained by the traditional proposal that subject clitics realize (features of) Infl, given that V-to-T (left-adjunction, Kayne 1994) predicts the order 'verb – subject clitic'. A way of dealing with this issue is to assume that subject clitics realize functional heads higher than the landing site of the verb (Poletto 2000; Manzini and Savoia 2005) or that subject clitics are D heads adjoined to T (Goria 2004: 70).

17–18; Benincà 1983: 31; Fava 1993: 2496; Poletto 2000: 55; Gorla 2004: 215; Roberts in press). See Cardinaletti and Repetti (2008) for discussion.

We claim that these hypotheses are not necessary and that a single-series hypothesis can be assumed instead. The subject clitics used in proclisis and enclisis are one and the same lexical item, as can be seen in the 2sg., 3sg. and 3pl., where they are present both in declaratives and interrogatives with the same lexical form. In (6), we list the underlying forms that we assume for Donceto (see Cardinaletti and Repetti 2008 for the phonological account of the surface forms, which can be different in proclisis and enclisis depending on (morpho)phonological constraints active in the language).¹¹

6 Proclitic subject pronouns		Enclitic subject pronouns	
-	-	i	i
t	-	t	v
l	i	l	i

In the 1sg., 1pl. and 2pl., subject clitics only occur in interrogatives, while in declaratives *pro* is found. In these persons, clitic subjects compete with null subjects. In the following sections, we discuss how the 1sg., 1pl. and 2pl. subject is chosen in the two sentence types: *pro* in declaratives, and an enclitic in interrogatives.¹²

3.1. *Clitic pronouns vs pro: clitic pronouns in interrogatives*

A 2sg., 3sg. and 3pl. clitic subject is found in both declaratives and interrogatives. To account for enclisis in interrogatives, we assume that the verb moves to a head preceding the subject clitic, which we call Y. Verb-movement is motivated by the need to check the inflectional [*wh*] feature on the verb (Rizzi 1996) against the Y head.¹³ Verb-movement to Y followed by cliticization to X produces the verb-clitic order. We illustrate the derivation for the 2sg.:¹⁴

¹¹ For phonological evidence against the status of enclitic material as inflectional affixes, see Cardinaletti and Repetti (2008). Similar restrictions hold on proclitics. While in Donceto, /tr/ is an acceptable onset cluster, [tri] ‘three’, proclitic /t/ cannot form part of a complex onset: /t/ + /ronf/ > *[t-rō:f] ‘you.sg. snore’, but must be syllabified as a separate syllable: [ət rō:f].

¹² An anonymous reviewer suggests that we can account for (6) in terms of optional PF realization of particular ϕ -features: in the persons missing in declaratives, there would be ‘silent’ subject clitics. We cannot adopt this proposal since, as shown in Cardinaletti (2002), silent object clitics do not exist (see also, this volume, Manzini and Savoia, and Savoia and Manzini). The null hypothesis is to assume the same for subject clitics.

¹³ Y is a head of the Infl layer. For arguments against verb-movement to C, see Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004). The [*wh*] feature does not have a morphological realization in Donceto, nor does it in other NIDs and Italian (see Rizzi (1996: 66) for languages where it is morphologically realized).

¹⁴ In (7), the verb cannot adjoin to the clitic in X and raise with it to Y because the clitic would intervene between the verb and the probe head (see Belletti (1999: 550ff.) for a similar remark on object cliticization in Italian). This also holds for (9a). See Kayne (1989b) for the proposal that verb and enclitics are not in one and the same head.

7 $[_{VP} \text{ be:V } [_{XP} \text{ at be:V } [_{TP} \text{ at be:V } \dots [_{VP} \text{ at be:V }]]]]$

In the 1sg., 1pl. and 2pl., things are different. As we have seen in (4) for the 1sg., declaratives contain the weak subject *pro* (cf. 8a) and cannot contain the clitic pronoun *i* (cf. 8b). In interrogatives, the clitic *i* becomes possible, surfacing as *jə* (cf. 1b), while *pro* is not possible (cf. 9a vs 9b):

8 a $[_{TP} \text{ pro be:V } \dots [_{VP} \text{ } \cancel{\text{pro}} \text{ be:V }]]$ b * $[_{XP} \text{ i } [_{TP} \text{ i be:V } \dots [_{VP} \text{ i be:V }]]]]$ 9 a $[_{YP} \text{ be:V } [_{XP} \text{ i be:V } [_{TP} \text{ i be:V } \dots [_{VP} \text{ i be:V }]]]]]]$ b * $[_{YP} \text{ be:V } [_{XP} \text{ be:V } [_{TP} \text{ pro be:V } \dots [_{VP} \text{ } \cancel{\text{pro}} \text{ be:V }]]]]]]$

The Donceto paradigm shows the correlation between the scope of verb-movement and the occurrence of clitic pronouns. If the verb does not raise to a head higher than T, as in (8), a clitic pronoun, which is the goal for the higher head X, is impossible (cf. 8b). Verb-movement to Y to check the interrogative feature (cf. 9a) activates X, and the structure with the clitic pronoun becomes possible. Not only is a clitic possible, it must be used. Once X is activated, it cannot remain unvalued, or the derivation crashes (cf. 9b).¹⁵

In conclusion, the competition between *pro* and clitic pronouns is a consequence of the syntactic derivation and in particular of the scope of verb-movement. The occurrence of enclitic 1sg., 1pl. and 2pl. subjects in interrogatives can thus be explained without resorting to the two-paradigm hypothesis.

3.2. *Clitic pronouns vs pro: pro in declaratives*

A welcome consequence of the analysis is that we can explain why in declaratives some persons are *pro*-drop (1sg., 1pl., 2pl.), while the other persons display a proclitic pronoun. We suggest that the correlation between the occurrence of subject clitics and verb-movement is the answer here too. When a proclitic pronoun occurs (2sg., 3sg., 3pl.), the finite verb moves to a higher head (X in (4)) than it does in those persons that display *pro* (1sg., 1pl., 2pl.). In (10a), we reproduce the derivation seen in (4). (10b) shows that the derivation crashes if a clitic pronoun does not value X; this explains the lack of *pro* in these cases (cf. interrogative sentences in (9b)). (10) should be compared with (8). In (8a) *pro* is allowed by Minimize Structure because it is the smallest available

¹⁵ In Donceto and other NIDs, interrogative sentences can also be formed without T-to-Y. In this case, no enclitics appear, and the same structure is found as in declaratives: (2) and (4), respectively, in the two sets of persons.

structure: the clitic is independently ruled out by the lack of verb-movement to X (cf. 8b):

10 2sg., 3sg., 3pl.:

- a [XP ət be:v [TP ət be:v ... [VP ət be:v]]]
 b *[XP be:v [TP pro be:v ... [VP *pro* be:v]]]

In conclusion, Donceto is a non-consistent NSL: *pro* is allowed in those persons where the verb sits in T (1sg., 1pl., 2pl.). If the verb moves to a higher head (2sg., 3sg., 3pl.), a clitic pronoun becomes possible. In these persons, the language happens to be non-*pro*-drop. In interrogatives, the verb raises to a head higher than T for independent reasons, which makes a clitic pronoun the preferred option in the entire paradigm. Many NIDs display the same patterns as the Donceto dialect discussed here, and the same analysis can be extended to those NIDs. Other NIDs are minimally different from Donceto, in that different persons are *pro*-drop. The data are, however, not random, and many generalizations hold (Renzi and Vanelli 1983) that are consistent with, and in fact predicted by, the approach suggested in this paper (cf. Cardinaletti and Repetti 2008).¹⁶

3.3. Competition between subject and object clitics

Fiorentino and Trentino (Brandi and Cordin 1989: 112), Donceto (cf. 11a) and Gazzoli (cf. 11b), as well as many other dialects, allow 3rd person subject clitics to co-occur with 3rd person object clitics:

- 11 a əl lə dizə
 b ð lə dizə
 scl.3sg.m= it= says
 ‘He says it’

This is not the case in all dialects, however. In Venetian, only *pro* can co-occur with 3rd person object clitics (Paolo Chinellato, p.c.):¹⁷

- 12 a [XP El magna]
 scl.3sg.m.= eats
 ‘He eats’

¹⁶ Evidence from different sources suggests that X should be decomposed into different person heads, serialized as 1sg./1pl. > 2pl. > 3pl. > 3sg. > 2sg. Read from bottom up, it expresses the implications on the persons that cross-linguistically display subject clitics (Cardinaletti and Repetti 2008). Language variation in the occurrence of subject proclitics reduces to the well-known cross-linguistic variation in (overt) verb-movement (a similar variation is found with subject enclitics; cf. §4).

¹⁷ The symbol [ɣ] indicates the pronunciation of /l/ as semivocalic (so-called ‘*l evanescente*’). See Roberts (1993b) and Manzini and Savoia (2005, II: §4.6) for the same restriction in other NIDs.

- b * [_{XP} El [^o] magna]
 he= it= eats
- c [_{TP} pro [^o] magna]
 pro it= eats
 ‘He eats it’

Since a subject clitic is independently ruled out by the presence of the object clitic (cf. 12b), weak *pro* becomes the smallest possible pronoun and is permitted (cf. 12c). These examples show that the existence of subject clitics in the language does not exclude the occurrence of *pro*. In Venetian, T has a D feature, like consistent NSLs, but *pro* may fail to occur (cf. 12a), since the numeration with a subject clitic is more economical (see note 9), though it implies the projection of X, as we have seen.

4. Cross-linguistic evidence

Once subject clitics are correctly identified, there is remarkable similarity in their lexical forms across dialects. For instance, the Donceto forms in (6) are nearly identical to the Paduan forms in (13):

13	Proclitic subject pronouns	Enclitic subject pronouns
-	-	i i
t	-	t o
l	i	l i ~ li

The pronominal forms are much more uniform across dialects than verbal morphology (as can be seen comparing the paradigms in (16) below), which supports the proposal that subject clitics are not Infl elements. Not only are clitic forms nearly identical across the NIDs, but they also have a remarkably similar distribution in the verbal paradigm, as pointed out by Renzi and Vanelli’s (1983) ‘Generalization 9’:¹⁸

- 14 *If interrogative sentences are formed via subject-inversion* [namely, via V-movement to Y; A.C. and L.R.],
- (i) the number of enclitic pronouns found in interrogative sentences is equal to or greater than the number of proclitic pronouns in declarative sentences, and
 - (ii) the subject pronouns found in proclitic position are also found in enclitic position.

This is clearly illustrated in Donceto in (1). If enclitic elements were not pronouns but inflectional morphology or a different series of subject clitics (see §3), there would be no way to account for (14): we might expect fully regular

¹⁸ Manzini and Savoia (2005, I: §3.6) discuss what they analyse as exceptions to this generalization.

paradigms (e.g. enclitic pronouns are always obligatory), or enclitic paradigms with arbitrary differences with respect to the proclitic paradigms, something that is not found across languages.

In §3 we provided a syntactic analysis of the distribution of clitic and null pronouns in the paradigm. Since the occurrence of enclitics depends on the scope of verb-movement, it is predicted that in enclisis the same pronouns are found as in proclisis or more (but not fewer). The former situation arises when in the persons without proclitics, interrogatives are obtained without verb-movement to Y, a possibility also found in some dialects in the persons that display proclitics (see note 15). The latter is due to verb-movement in interrogatives: pronouns of certain persons become available that are not found in declaratives. In dialects like Donceto, verb-movement to Y can take place in all persons, and enclitics are found throughout. In other dialects such as Veronese, verb-movement to Y does not take place in 1sg. and 1pl., where *pro* is found as in declarative sentences, but does take place in the 2pl. in addition to 2sg., 3sg., 3pl.; as a result, we find one more clitic in enclisis than in proclisis. Given the serialization of clitic heads seen in note 16, (14) reduces to the well-known language variation in (overt) verb-movement (see Cardinaletti and Repetti 2008).

5. Diachronic evidence

Our discussion is also supported by diachronic considerations. As pointed out by Vanelli (1987) and Poletto (1995; 2005a), in the 2sg., 3sg. and 3pl., Renaissance NIDs displayed weak pronouns and not Infl elements. In other words, the Renaissance varieties were not *pro-drop* in these persons (whereas they were *pro-drop* in the 1sg., 1pl. and 2pl., as they are nowadays).¹⁹ Language change has thus occurred in the usual direction depicted in (15): Latin strong pronouns gave rise to weak pronouns (those attested in the Renaissance period), which turned into clitic pronouns in the modern varieties:

15 2sg., 3sg., 3pl.: strong > weak > clitic

There is no evidence to hypothesize that subject clitics have further evolved into affixes, as the analysis of subject proclitics as Infl elements implies and the analysis of subject enclitics as inflectional morphology explicitly states.²⁰ This, in turn, means that the 2sg., 3sg. and 3pl. have *not* changed from non-*pro-drop* (Renaissance) to *pro-drop* forms (modern varieties), as is instead implied by previous analyses and explicitly stated in Poletto (2005a: 185).

¹⁹ We disregard here the complication represented by embedded *wh*-clauses (Poletto 2005a), since in this context some non-NSLs like French also allow *pro*.

²⁰ However, there are cases in NIDs in which object enclitics are reanalysed as inflectional suffixes (Loporcaro 2006).

6. Neurolinguistic evidence

Neurolinguistic data also support our proposals (cf. Chinellato 2004 and references quoted therein, and Chinellato 2006). The forms produced by aphasic patients speaking Veneto dialects display a dissociation between verbal morphemes and subject clitics. Some patients have no problems with verbal agreement morphology, yet they do not produce subject clitics. If subject clitics were the realization of Infl, as assumed in previous works, we would not expect such differences in pathological productions. Furthermore, both proclitic and enclitic subjects (in declaratives and interrogatives, respectively) are damaged. If the two clitic elements were realizations of different paradigms or series of pronouns, we might expect a different behaviour, something that is not found in aphasic patients: subject clitics are damaged in both syntactic contexts. Finally, aphasic patients have problems with both subject and object clitics. If subject clitics were the realization of Infl, while object clitics were true clitic pronouns, we would need two different explanations for the two cases.

Assuming, as we claim, that subject and object clitics are one and the same syntactic entity, we can understand Chinellato's data by saying that aphasic patients have a deficit with the specific derivation of clitic pronouns and, in particular, with the head-movement step. Instead of clitics, they use either strong pronouns or *pro*, or else 'invent' overt weak forms like *elo* and *eo* 'he' by adding the support element *e* to the Schio and Venetian clitics *lo* and *o*, respectively (Chinellato 2003: 38f.).²¹ Minimize Structure is again at work: if clitic pronouns are independently excluded, weak or strong pronouns are the smallest possible structures and are ruled in.

7. Considerations concerning the null-subject parameter

In this section we discuss some properties of NSLs to assess whether the behaviour of NIDs confirms the hypothesis that they are non-consistent NSLs. We mention some differences with Italian, without, however, providing a full account of them.

7.1. *The correlation with rich inflection*

It is widely observed that NSLs have rich agreement (Taraldsen 1978), although the exact characterization of this property is far from trivial (cf. Jaeggli and Safir 1989). The cross-linguistic variation observed in NIDs with regard to which persons are realized by *pro* or by a clitic (Renzi and Vanelli 1983) cannot be easily explained by the rich-agreement hypothesis. Different dialects may have

²¹ For support morphemes, see Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: 193f.).

different verb paradigms, but the same distribution of null and clitic pronouns. In Bellunese (cf. 16a; Nicola Munaro, p.c.) and other Veneto dialects (e.g. Conegliano, Saccon 1993: 95), the distribution of proclitic pronouns seems to correlate with the poverty of inflection: subject clitics occur in the three persons of the paradigm that have the same verbal form (*magna*). This fact is, however, not replicated in Paduan (cf. 16b; Benincà and Vanelli 1982) and Donceto (cf. 16c): proclitic pronouns appear in the same three persons of the paradigm, while two or all three verbal forms are morphologically distinct: *magni*, *magna* and *læ:ɪv*, *læ:ɪvə*, *læ:ɪvən*, respectively.²²

16 a Bellunese	b Paduan	c Donceto
magne	magno	læ:ɪv
te magna	te magni	ət læ:ɪv
al magna	el magna	əl læ:ɪvə
magnon	magnemo	la'vum
magné	magné	la'væ
i magna	i magna	i 'læ:ɪvən
'I, you, etc. eat'	'I, you, etc. eat'	'I, you, etc. wash'

As discussed in §3 above, the cross-linguistic variation observed with respect to the persons of the paradigm realized by pro or clitic pronouns can be explained via the interaction of clitic- and verb-movement. Verb-movement to X is motivated by a rather abstract property that does not necessarily have a morphological reflex in verbal inflection.

7.2. Overt expletives

NSLs lack overt expletives. With weather predicates, postverbal subjects and extraposed clauses, pro occurs in Italian (cf. 17), while English (and French) displays overt expletives:

17 a	pro/	*Esso	piove			
	pro	it	rains			
			'It is raining'			
b	pro /	*Esso	sono	arrivati	due	uomini
	pro	it	are	arrived	two	men
			'There arrived two men'			
c	pro /	*Esso	è	chiaro	che	ha ragione
	pro	it	is	clear	that	he-has reason
			'It is clear that he is right'			

Non-referential subjects (non-arguments and quasi-arguments; Chomsky 1981) are restricted to SpecTP, where they check the uninterpretable features

²² See Renzi and Vanelli (1983: §1.2.1) for the same observation for other dialects.

of T. Since they cannot qualify as ‘subjects of predication’, non-referential subjects cannot raise to SpecSubjP. The overt weak subject *esso*, which occurs in SpecSubjP, is excluded from non-referential usages (Cardinaletti 1997). Since English and French are non-NSLs, the overt counterparts of non-referential *pro* occur in SpecTP, and no violation is produced:²³

- 18 a Italian [SubjP [TP *pro piove*]]
 b Italian *[SubjP *esso* [TP *esso piove*]]
 c English [SubjP [TP *it is raining*]]
 d French [SubjP [TP *il pleut*]]

Some NIDs display overt expletives. Consider the following data from the dialect of Trepalle (SO; Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 174):

- 19 a **al** plov
 scl.3m.sg.= rains
 ‘It is raining’
 b dopo **al** vegn i marcin
 later scl.3m.sg.= comes the children
 ‘The children are coming later’
 c **al** sarò megl klamel
 scl.3m.sg.=will-be better call.inf.=him
 ‘It will be better to call him’

If NIDs were full pro-drop languages, it would be unclear why they differ from Italian in this respect. In the licensing theory of *pro*, it is surprising that overt clitic expletives are necessary to license non-referential *pro*. The proposal that NIDs are non-consistently pro-drop makes the occurrence of overt expletives less mysterious: if no 3sg. *pro* occurs, it is the overt 3sg. clitic that is used as an expletive, as happens with 3sg. weak pronouns in non-NSLs like English and French.²⁴

²³ Referential subjects occur in either position, depending on their syntactic status: weak subjects occur in SpecTP and full subjects in SpecSubjP (Cardinaletti 1997; 2004).

²⁴ Another instance of non-referential subjects is impersonal (quasi-existential) subjects. Italian (i.a) differs from English (i.b) and French (i.c) also in this respect:

- i a In quel negozio, *pro* / **essi* mi hanno venduto un vecchio libro
 b In that shop, they have sold me an old book
 c Dans ce magasin, ils m’ont vendu un vieux livre

As shown for Gazzoli, a 3pl. clitic is present in this case too:

- ii [in kula butiga la, i m an vendi:d əl paŋ vetʃ]
 in that shop there they me= have sold the bread old
 ‘In that shop they sold me stale bread’

In expletive usages, other NIDs, here exemplified by Chioggia (VE), display *pro* (Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 179):²⁵

- 20 a *pro piove*
 pro rains
 ‘It rains’
- b *pro vien i fioi*
 pro comes the children
 ‘There come the children’
- c *pro ze megio ciamarlo*
 pro is better call.inf.=him
 ‘It is better to call him’

These NIDs look like a particular type of partial NSL, like German and Icelandic, in which expletive *pro* is possible (Rögnvaldsson 1984; Grewendorf 1989; Cardinaletti 1994). Partial NSLs display a poorly understood variation in the distribution of overt and null expletives: German only allows null non-arguments, Icelandic both null non-arguments and quasi-arguments. Similarly, NIDs display much variation in the occurrence of null and overt expletives in the relevant constructions (Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: §2.6–7). We believe that the comparison between NIDs and partial NSLs is fruitful and should be pursued to understand the observed cross-linguistic variation.

7.3. *Subject-inversion phenomena*

Free subject-inversion correlates with *pro*-drop (Rizzi 1982). If NIDs are non-consistent *pro*-drop languages, as claimed here, we expect inversion phenomena to be different from those attested in NSLs like Italian. This is indeed what is found: not all possibilities attested in Italian exist in NIDs.

7.3.1. *Italian free inversion vs restricted inversion in NIDs* Italian allows (definite, focalized) postverbal subjects with all verbs:

- 21 a *È arrivato Gianni*
 is arrived Gianni
 ‘Gianni has arrived’
- b *Ha parlato Gianni*
 has spoken Gianni
 ‘Gianni has spoken’

²⁵ Donceto is like Chioggia in that weather predicates do not occur with overt expletives: (*ə) *pjə:və*. They can, however, optionally occur with schwa: (ə) *pjə:və*. This element is the realization of a clausal head like the optional schwa found in (1a).

- c L' ha detto Gianni
it= has said Gianni
'Gianni said it'
- d Ha detto questo Gianni
has said this Gianni
'Gianni said this'

In NIDs, subject-inversion is possible with unaccusative and many intransitive verbs, but seems to be more restricted with transitive verbs. As discussed by Brandi and Cordin (1981; 1989) for Fiorentino (22a) and Trentino (22b), postverbal subjects are possible with unaccusatives (*venire* 'to come') and unergatives (*telefonare* 'to telephone'). The subject does not agree with the verb, and a non-agreeing subject clitic may be present, as in Fiorentino (22a):

- 22 a Gli è venuto / ha telefonato delle ragazze / la Maria
scl= is come / has telephoned some girls / the Maria
- b È vegnù / Ha telefonà qualche putela / la Maria
is come / has telephoned some girl / the Maria
'Some girls/Maria have/has come/telephoned'

In a detailed study of postverbal subjects, Saccon (1993) replicated these results in the Venetan dialect, Conegliano. Postverbal subjects can occur with unaccusatives (cf. 23a) and unergatives with locative arguments (cf. 23b). They are not found with other unergatives (cf. 23b') and transitive verbs with full objects (cf. 23c vs 23d):

- 23 a El è riva la Maria
scl.3m.sg.=is arrived the Maria
'Maria has arrived'
(Saccon 1993: 96)
- b El a dormist un bocia, in sto let
scl.3m.sg.=has slept a kid in this bed
'A child has been sleeping in this bed'
(Saccon 1993: 210)
- b' *El a ridest la Maria, al cinema
scl.3m.sg.=has laughed the Maria, at-the cinema
'Maria laughed at the cinema'
(Saccon 1993: 211)
- c I fiori, li a portadi la Maria
the flowers, them= has brought the Maria
'Maria brought the flowers'
(Saccon 1993: 104)
- d *Me ha scrit un poema la Maria
to-me= has written a poem the Maria
'Maria wrote me a poem'
(Saccon 1993: 223)

Bellunese (Nicola Munaro p.c.) and Venetian (Paolo Chinellato p.c.) exhibit similar restrictions. In order for the subject of transitive verbs to be focalized, a different structure (a cleft sentence) is used.

With transitive verbs (cf. 21d), the VOS order is obtained via object scrambling across the subject in SpecVP:²⁶

24 [TP pro_{expl} ha [AspP detto [ZP questo [VP Gianni detto-questo]]]]

(23d) shows that non-consistent pro-drop languages do not allow for this possibility. No such restriction exists in Italian varieties which do not display subject clitics and which are consistent NSLs, like Standard Italian and the central Italian variety spoken in the area of Ancona.

7.3.3. *Marginalization* In the so-called marginalization construction (Antinucci and Cinque 1977), Italian displays another type of postverbal subject: a destressed subject following a focalized item, such as the verb in (25) (capitals indicate the syllable with main sentential stress):

25 Non ha ancora telefonATO Gianni
not has yet called Gianni
'Gianni hasn't called yet'

If marginalized subjects occur in SpecVP (Cardinaletti 2001; 2002), marginalization must also be taken to correlate with full pro-drop:

26 [TP pro_{expl} non ha ... [AspP telefonATO [VP Gianni telefonato]]]

DP subjects in *wh*-questions are also marginalized. This possibility is not available in non-consistent pro-drop languages (Cardinaletti 2002: 53 n. 23). In Fiorentino, for instance, lack of subject-verb agreement is possible with postverbal subjects in declaratives (cf. 22a), but not in *wh*-questions (cf. 27a), where the subject always agrees in number (and gender) with the verb and the clitic (cf. 27b–c) (see Brandi and Cordin 1981 for Fiorentino and Trentino). In (27b–c), the subject is right-dislocated (Belletti 2004a: 40):

27 a *Icché gl' ha portATO, la Maria?
what scl.3m.sg.= has brought the Maria
b Icché l' ha portATO, la Maria?
what scl.3f.sg.= has brought the Maria?
'What did Maria bring?'
c Quando l' è venUTA, la Maria?
when scl.3f.sg.= is come, the Maria?
'When did Maria come?'

²⁶ See Cardinaletti (2001), based on Ordóñez's (1997) proposal for Spanish. For past participle movement to Asp°, see Cinque (1999).

Lack of number agreement in both declaratives and interrogatives is instead possible in the Ancona variety of Italian. Focused postverbal subjects (cf. 28a) and marginalized subjects (cf. 28b–c) behave alike:

- 28 a Questo disegno l' ha fatto quei bambini li
 this drawing it= has done those children there
 'Those children did this drawing'
- b L' ha FATTO, i bambini, il disegno
 it= has done, the children, the drawing
 'The children did the drawing'
- c Cosa ha FATTO, i bambini?
 what has done, the children?
 'What have the children done?'

Although a full description and account of subject inversion in NIDs is still missing, these few examples show that the whole range of possibilities attested in Italian are not found in non-consistent NSLs.

8. Conclusions

In this chapter we have suggested that NIDs are non-consistent pro-drop languages. As we have seen in detail for Donceto, declaratives display pro only in some persons of the paradigm and clitic pronouns in the other persons. In interrogatives, the subject is a clitic pronoun throughout. We have accounted for this distribution in terms of the interaction between clitic- and verb-movement. This implies that a 'two-paradigm' hypothesis is not necessary to account for the different distribution of subject clitics in declaratives and interrogatives.

Our proposal has a number of consequences with respect to the properties related to the availability of pro. Firstly, since verb inflection may vary from one NID to the other while the distribution of pro and subject clitics in the paradigm remains constant, NIDs confirm the hypothesis that what allows verb-movement is a rather abstract property that does not necessarily have a morphological reflex in verbal inflection. Secondly, since NIDs are non-consistent pro-drop languages, we expect to find overt expletives, an expectation that is borne out. Finally, the full range of subject-inversion phenomena can be seen as a property that holds for full pro-drop languages like Italian, but not for non-consistent NSLs like NIDs.

6 Domains of clitic placement in finite and non-finite clauses: evidence from a Piedmontese dialect

Christina Tortora

1. Introduction

It has commonly been argued since Kayne (1991) that enclisis of object clitics to finite and non-finite verbs involves movement of the verb to the left of the clitic, itself taken to occupy a fixed functional head relatively high in the clause (somewhere in the Inflectional or Complementizer field). Under this view, enclitic structures involve verb-movement higher than that found in proclitic structures. In this chapter, I argue that not all cases of enclisis entail this. While still adopting the idea that enclisis involves verb-movement to the left of the clitic, I argue on the basis of data from Borgomanerese (NO), a Piedmontese dialect, that in some cases the clitic appears to the right of the verb because the clitic itself occupies a much lower functional head. The idea is that the finite clause contains more than one domain for clitic placement, and some languages select the low domain, while others select the high one; furthermore, within a single language, the clitic may access one or the other domain, depending on the structure type.

Analysis of the Borgomanerese data also leads to two further but related conclusions. The first is that non-finite verbs project their own clauses, providing their own clitic placement domains. Thus, the word ‘domain’ has two senses in this chapter: one refers to the domain within the clause (such that the clause itself may have a low or a high placement domain), while the other refers to the particular clause in which the clitic finds itself (in the case of bi-clausal structures). The second conclusion is that non-finite clauses do not contain any adverbs, so that the position of the adverb with respect to the non-finite verb cannot be used to determine the distance of non-finite V-movement. This means that certain verbs (such as past participles in absolutive clauses), which have traditionally been argued (based on adverb placement facts) to exhibit relatively high movement, do not in fact move high.

2. Complement clitics in Romance: the I-domain and the V-domain

2.1. The I-domain

Various authors have argued that complement clitics in Romance occupy a functional head somewhere in the Inflectional or Complementizer Field (e.g. Kayne 1989b; 1991; 1994; Martins 1994; Uriagereka 1995; Raposo 2000; Rizzi 2000a; Shlonsky 2004). Kayne (1991), for example, argues that in Italian the clitic adjoins to an I^0 -type head, so that in sentences such as (1), the object clitic *lo* is not taken to be syntactically adjoined to the verb:

- 1 **Lo** vedo
 cl= I-see
 'I see it'

A superficial comparison of the Italian example in (1) with the Galician example in (2) might lead one to imagine, without further investigation, that the complement clitic in Galician must occupy a structural position lower than that occupied by the Italian complement clitic:

- 2 **Ouvimo-lo**
 we-hear=cl
 'We hear it'

However, as noted by Uriagereka (1995) (from which this and the following example have been taken; see also Benincà 2006), there is reason to believe that the Galician clitic, too, occupies a relatively high functional head, perhaps even higher than that targeted by the Italian clitic. Rizzi (2000a) argues that the apparent enclisis we see in (2) is actually the result of the verb's movement to the left of the clitic (so that the Galician finite verb in (2) moves higher than the Italian finite verb in (1)). The datum in (3) supports this analysis:

- 3 **Quero que o** oiades
 I-want that cl= you-hear
 'I want you to hear it'

When the finite clause is embedded in Galician, the clitic appears to the left of the verb. This can be taken as evidence for verb-movement past the clitic in examples like (2): the complementizer *que* in (3) blocks movement of the verb to the left of the clitic, yielding the appearance of proclisis. Let us call this hypothesis for enclisis the **I-domain/C-domain hypothesis**:

- 4 I-domain/C-domain hypothesis
 In all these languages, the complement clitic is in some functional head in the I- or C-domain; 'enclisis' obtains as a result of V-movement to a position higher than that occupied by the clitic (see also Martins 1994).

2.2. The *V-domain*

A question that arises is whether the I-domain hypothesis should account for all cases of enclisis with finite verbs in Romance. In this section, I argue that it cannot. Let us consider Borgomanerese, which, like Galician, exhibits enclisis with finite verbs:

- 5 La môngia-**la**
 scl=she-eats=cl
 ‘She’s eating it’

We might assume that the clitic resides in the I-domain in Borgomanerese, with enclisis obtaining in the way that was argued for Galician. Here I show that the Borgomanerese facts cannot receive the same explanation. Firstly, in contrast with languages like Galician, there are no conditions under which the complement clitics can appear to the left of the verb; compare, for example, the sentence in (6), which contains an embedded finite verb, with the Galician example in (3):

- 6 I ò diciu c la môngia-**la**
 scl= I-have said that scl= eats=cl
 ‘I said that she’s eating it’

In embedded contexts in Borgomanerese, the finite verb remains to the left of the clitic, in contrast with Galician. This suggests that appearance of the finite verb to the left of the clitic does not entail verb-movement past a clitic residing in the I-domain. Rather, it suggests that this generalized enclisis in Borgomanerese may involve a relatively low position of the complement clitic. In what follows, I briefly review further arguments from Tortora (2000; 2002) which lead us to conclude that a domain lower than the Inflectional Field is available for complement clitic-placement in some Romance languages. This hypothesis is summarized in (7):

- 7 V-domain hypothesis
 In some Romance languages, ‘enclisis’ is not due to high V-movement past the clitic residing in the I-domain. Rather, the complement clitic resides in a lower domain (in the functional field outside the VP).

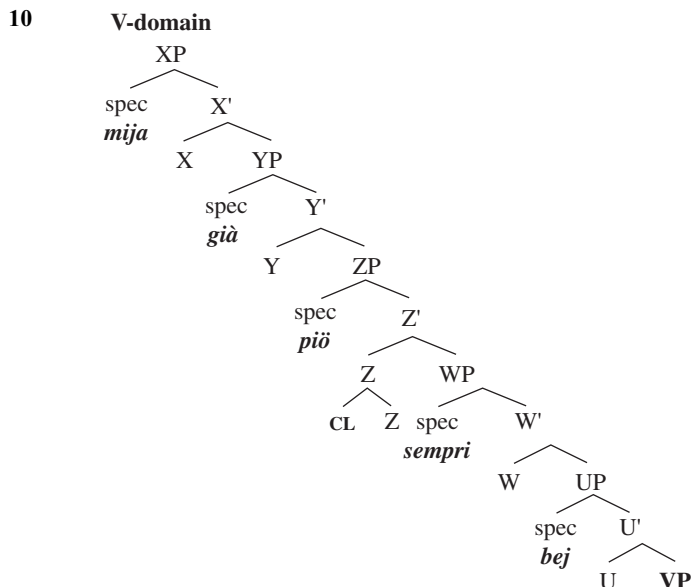
2.2.1. *Evidence for the V-domain (Tortora 2000; 2002)* The following data show that when certain ‘lower’ (pre-VP) adverbs (in the sense of Cinque 1999) are present, the clitic must appear to their right. The example in (8a) shows that the complement clitic must appear to the right of the postverbal negative marker *mi(ja)*, while (8b) shows that it must appear to the right of the adverb *già* ‘already’. The example in (8c) shows furthermore that when the adverb *piö* ‘any more’ is present, the clitic must appear to its right as well:

- 8 a I porti mi-**lla**
 scl= I-bring neg.=cl
 'I'm not bringing it'
- b I vangumma già-**nni** da dü agni
 scl= we-see already=cl of two years
 'We've already been seeing each other for two years'
- c I vœnghi piö-**lla**
 scl= I-see no-more=cl
 'I don't see her any more'

There are other lower adverbs, however, that the clitic must appear to the left of, including *sempri* 'always' in (9):

- 9 a I mœngia-**la** sempri
 scl= I-eat=cl always
- b *I mœngi sempra-**la**
 scl= I-eat always=cl
 'I always eat it'

To account for the fact that the clitic always appears to the right of the verb and certain lower adverbs (but to the left of others), Tortora (2000; 2002) claims that the clitic position is to the right of *piö* but to the left of *sempri*, namely, the Z head in (10) (the tree illustrates the syntactic positions of the lower adverbs in question, and the complement clitic's syntactic position in relation to them).



As can be seen, the complement clitic's position is in a lower field, or 'domain', in the Borgomanerese clause, compared with the position of the complement clitic in such languages as Italian, Galician and Portuguese.

In the literature, various cases of enclisis with finite verbs have been analysed as involving high verb-movement past the complement clitic, which itself is taken to reside in the I-domain. However, the Borgomanerese facts suggest that not all cases of Romance enclisis can be treated in this way. Specifically, appearance of the clitic to the right of certain lower adverbs suggests that enclisis here is the result of the clitic's relatively low placement in the structure.¹ Thus, we have established that the grammar provides (at least) two possible domains for placement of complement clitics in finite clauses (for a third (C-)domain, see Benincà 2006).²

A number of questions now arise, one of which is what determines whether a language will employ the I-domain (e.g. Italian) or the V-domain (e.g. Borgomanerese) for placement of complement clitics in finite clauses? Although this question is important, I do not address it here (although one might pursue the idea, suggested by Rizzi 2000a, that adjunction of a clitic to a particular head depends on whether that head is available at all in the language in question).³ Rather, I address another, namely, what about non-finite clauses? Do they contain their own clitic-placement domains? In what follows, I consider structures that contain more than one verb in Borgomanerese (specifically, active auxiliary + PtP constructions) and argue that the clitic-placement data can only be understood once we recognize that the non-finite past participle verb projects its own clause, thus providing its own domain. This conclusion will, in turn, lead to a reassessment (in §5) of constructions with non-finite verbs in the I-domain languages. In particular, I shall explore the possibility that languages which

¹ In contrast to the claims reviewed in §2.1, Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) have argued that the clitic is placed lower than T in Italian, so that 'lower' cliticization does not necessarily entail enclisis. While Ledgeway and Lombardi's arguments are convincing, I do not think one need conclude from their analysis that their 'lower' placement site is the same as the (probably much lower) placement site in Borgomanerese.

² It should be underscored that the analysis and conclusions involve three basic assumptions: firstly, that there is no right adjunction (so that in no case of enclisis does the clitic right adjoin to its (apparent) host); secondly, that clitics adjoin directly to functional heads; and thirdly, that the strict ordering of the adverbs is the result of each being base-generated in its own unique position, so that appearance of *già* 'already', for example, to the left of clitic is not the result of this adverb having moved there from some lower position. One can thus imagine an entirely different kind of analysis if these three assumptions are not made.

³ If this variation across Romance is the result of a parameter, it remains to determine what other syntactic phenomena correlate with one particular parameter setting (V-domain) vs the other (I-domain).

employ the I-domain in finite clauses may employ the V-domain in non-finite clauses.

3. Domains in ‘bi-clausal’ structures

3.1. *Enclisis and past participles in Borgomanerese*

In (9) we saw that when the adverb *sempri* ‘always’ is present, the clitic must appear to its left. The fact that the clitic must always appear to the left of *sempri* in finite clauses contrasts with the fact that the clitic can appear to the right of *sempri* when a past participle is present, as in (11):

- 11 L Piero l à sempri mangià-llu
 the Piero scl= has always eaten=cl
 ‘Piero has always eaten it’

Thus an apparent contradiction seems to arise: the clitic cannot occur to the right of *sempri*, but the clitic can occur to the right of *sempri* (when the clitic is hosted by a past participle).

3.2. *Aux + PtP as bi-clausal structures*

In order to account for the apparent contradiction discussed immediately above, let us adopt the idea that Aux + PtP structures are bi-clausal, something that has already been proposed by a number of researchers, including Belletti (1990), Kayne (1991; 1993) and Rizzi (2000a). The idea, illustrated in (12), is that the past participle projects its own clausal structure:

- 12 [CP₁ ... Aux_k ... [_{VP} t_k [CP₂ ... [_{VP} PtP]]]]

The structure in (12) recalls Kayne’s (1993) proposal, whereby the auxiliary verb takes a DP (clausal) complement. Note that the sketch in (12) also depicts movement of the auxiliary out of its position within VP to its surface position within the Inflectional Field. Given the view that the PtP projects its own clause, we can elaborate on the structure in (12) by proposing that this participial clause contains a series of pre-VP functional projections similar to those projected in a finite clause; this idea is depicted in (13), where I have also included a D-structure complement clitic:

- 13 [CP₁ ... Aux_k ... X Y Z W U [_{VP} t_k [CP₂ ... X Y Z W U [_{VP} PtP cl]]]]

On this view, in Aux + PtP constructions the clitic, which is an argument of the embedded participial verb, moves to the closest available appropriate functional head, which would in this case be the lower Z

head in (13).⁴ This, together with movement of the PtP itself out of the VP, is illustrated in (14).⁵

14 [CP₁ ... Aux_k ... **x y z w u** [_{VP} t_k [CP₂ ... PtP_i **cl_j+z** ... [_{VP} t_i t_j]]]]

We can now say that this is what is responsible for the appearance of the complement clitic to the right of *sempri* in the presence of a past participle: the participial clause provides a (second) Z head to the right of *sempri*. However, we must also assume that the adverbs we see in Aux + PtP structures reside in the functional structure projected by the ‘matrix’ verb (this is because if we allowed the pre-VP adverb series to appear in CP₂, then we would lose the ability to explain why the clitic occurs to the right of *sempri*, for the simple reason that the Z head is to the left of this adverb); this proposal is illustrated in (15), where the non-finite CP contains no adverbs:

15 [CP₁ ... Aux_k ... *mija x già y piö z sempri w* [_{VP} t_k [CP₂ ... PtP_i **cl_j+z** ... [_{VP} t_i t_j]]]]

In sum, we can take the facts illustrated in (9) and (11) as supporting evidence for: (i) the claim that Aux + PtP structures involve two clauses; and (ii) the claim that any adverbs we find in such bi-clausal structures must reside in the ‘matrix’ clause.

4. Interim summary

Firstly, I have argued for a complement clitic-placement parameter, whereby we find that some Romance languages utilize the ‘I-domain’ for clitic-placement in finite clauses, while others utilize the ‘V-domain’. Secondly, I have argued that in Aux + PtP structures, the past participle projects its own clause, thus providing a second clitic-placement domain. Under this analysis, I showed that the data can only be understood if we take adverbs to reside in the finite functional field

⁴ Those familiar with the behaviour of Italian might wonder at this point why the complement clitic in this language does not adjoin to a functional head within the participial CP (cf. i.a), as in Borgomanerese, but must instead appear in the matrix clause (cf. i.b):

- i a *Abbiamo visto-**lo**
we-have seen=cl
- b **Lo** abbiamo visto
cl= we-have seen
‘We have seen it’

Within the present approach, we have to think of (i.b) as a case of obligatory ‘clitic-climbing’ in Italian and similar languages, but this, of course, then raises the question of what makes clitic-climbing obligatory in this environment in some Romance languages but impossible in others (such as Piedmontese). I leave this question open here, but see §5.2, which includes some discussion of Rizzi (2000a), who proposes that the participial clause embedded under an auxiliary verb in Italian lacks the appropriate clitic landing site.

⁵ The structure in (14) says nothing about whether the PtP (head-)adjoins to the clitic, or whether it adjoins to an independent (higher) functional head (say, the lower participial Y in (13)). Unfortunately, I do not have the space to provide arguments to show that the PtP and clitic do not in fact constitute a head cluster; I reserve these arguments for future work.

(namely, the functional field projected by the auxiliary verb), with the participial functional field unable to host adverbs (for reasons left open).

Hitherto I have assumed, without argument, that clitic placement obtains in the V-domain in Borgomanerese participial clauses. This should not imply, however, that the domain parameter setting for finite clauses determines the domain parameter setting for non-finite clauses. In fact, in what follows I shall argue that if a language utilizes the I-domain for clitic-placement in finite clauses, it does not necessarily follow that it utilizes this same domain in non-finite clauses. Specifically, I would like to suggest that languages like Italian (which are I-domain for finite clauses) utilize the V-domain for clitic-placement in non-finite clauses, and that the Italian non-finite verb moves low. The argument will, in part, appeal to an idea argued for in this section based on the Borgomanerese data, namely, that non-finite clauses do not contain their own adverbs.

5. Non-finite verbs in I-domain languages

5.1. *A non-finite I-domain?*

While Italian exhibits proclisis in the presence of finite verbs (cf. 1), there are certain configurations where the complement clitic is obligatorily enclitic on the verb. In (16a–b), we see that participial/gerundial clauses (or ‘absolute small clauses’; Belletti 1981; 1990) involve enclisis to the participial or gerundial form of the verb:

- 16 a **Mangiatala** ieri,...
 eaten=cl yesterday
 ‘Having eaten it yesterday...’
- b **Leggendolo** in fretta,...
 reading=cl in hurry
 ‘Reading it in a hurry...’

Two other configurations where we find obligatory enclisis in Italian are imperatives (17a) and subject infinitivals (17b):⁶

⁶ There are other configurations where enclisis is optional, namely, infinitives following modal and aspectual verbs (cf. i.a) and negative imperatives (cf. i.b):

- i a **Voglio vederlo** / **Lo** voglio vedere
 I-want see.inf.=cl/ cl= I-want see.inf.
 ‘I want to see him’
- b **Non mangiarlo** / **Non lo** mangiare
 not eat.inf.=cl / not cl= eat.inf.
 ‘Don’t eat it’

The example in (i.a) represents the well-known configuration for ‘clitic-climbing’, while that in (i.b) is discussed by Kayne (1992) and Rizzi (2000a). For the purposes of the immediate discussion, I put these cases aside, though I will discuss Kayne’s (1992) account of (i.b) in §5.2 below.

- 17 a **Mangialo**
 eat=cl
 'Eat it!'
- b [Vederti] sarebbe un errore
 see.inf.=cl would-be a mistake
 'To see you would be a mistake'

A question that arises is how to account for these cases of obligatory enclisis in (16)–(17), when Italian otherwise exhibits proclisis. In the literature there appears to be a consensus on how to handle this question. In particular, it is assumed that the clitic resides in the same functional head as it does in finite clauses (namely, Infl^0 , or AgrS^0 , or T^0 , depending on the analysis).⁷ Enclisis obtains just as we saw in §2: the verb in these constructions has reason to move to the left of Infl^0 .

In the case of the participial/gerundial clauses in (16a–b), Rizzi (2000a) proposes that the participial verb moves to the left of the clitic landing site within the participial clause; in the case of the imperative in (17a), Rivero (1994b) proposes that the imperatival verb moves to C^0 , so that the clitic residing in Infl^0 now appears to the verb's right. In the case of subject infinitivals (cf. 17b), Kayne (1991) assumes that the non-finite verb moves to the left of the clitic, which is in the T^0 head. The specific claim, then, is that Italian utilizes the I-domain for clitic-placement in non-finite clauses as well.⁸

However, there may be reason to object to the idea that Italian utilizes the I-domain for clitic-placement in such non-finite clauses. The problem has to do with the claim that the non-finite verb moves to the left of Infl^0 . Why would the verb, which is non-finite, move to a zone of the clause that is associated with features of finiteness, such as tense (or subject agreement)?⁹ On the other hand, we need to account for the clitic's appearance to the right of the verb in non-finite clauses, and if all we have is an I-domain for clitic-placement, we are led to this conundrum.

5.2. *An alternative view: activation of the V-domain in non-finite clauses*

In the remainder of this chapter, I would like to capitalize on the idea that we in fact are not stuck with just the I-domain at our disposal. Given the arguments for

⁷ This is expressed explicitly in Shlonsky (2004: 332): 'It needs to ... be assumed ... that the cliticization site or sites are the same in finite and non-finite clauses.' However, see Rizzi (2000a) for suggestions (along the lines I pursue here) that different clause-types may have different clitic landing sites.

⁸ For the immediate purposes, I will put aside the question of the imperative (though see §5.2 below).

⁹ Since temporal interpretations can be derived from infinitivals, it is too naive to suggest that non-finite clauses have no T head. Nevertheless, cross-linguistically we find that finite verbs have more robust evidence of tense and agreement than do non-finite verbs. As such, the idea that non-finite verbs move higher than finite verbs is suspicious.

a V-domain in Romance, we can provide an alternative view of enclisis with non-finite verbs in languages like Italian. The idea is simple: while Italian utilizes the I-domain for clitic-placement in finite clauses, the V-domain is accessed in non-finite clauses. So, even if the non-finite verb moves to a very low position within its own clause, the clitic, which resides in the low Z head, appears to its right; under this view, it is possible to take the non-finite verb to move only as high as the Y head within its own clause. Reconsider, in this regard, CP2 in (15), modified for our purposes here:

18 [CP₂ X V[-finite]_i+Y cl_j+Z W U... [VP t_i t_j]]]

Under this hypothesis, the non-finite verb does not move to an Inflectional Field within its own clause; perhaps the non-finite clause does not even have an Inflectional Field at all (recall that the X, Y, Z, W and U heads are intended to represent the low (pre-VP) functional field; cf. 10; note too that we are using the label 'CP' for convenience to convey the idea that the non-finite verb projects its own clause, without necessarily projecting all the way up to CP).

For this alternative view to make sense, we need to consider some further questions. Specifically, let us discuss an objection that could be levelled against the idea portrayed in (18), namely, that the non-finite verb moves to a relatively low position within its own clause. As has been discussed by a number of researchers (e.g. Belletti 1990; Cinque 1999; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005), non-finite verbs in Italian appear to the left of some relatively high adverbs, indicating that the non-finite verb moves to a relatively high position within its own clause.¹⁰ As can be seen in (19), for example (from Cinque 1999: 149), while the past participle (in the absolute small clause construction) can appear to the right of *fortunatamente* 'fortunately' (one of the Cinque 1999 'higher adverbs'), as in (19a), it can also appear to this adverb's left, as in (19b):

- 19 a [Fortunatamente arrivato in anticipo], Gianni potè rimediare
 fortunately arrived early Gianni could remedy.inf.
 b [Arrivato fortunatamente in anticipo], Gianni potè rimediare
 arrived fortunately early Gianni could remedy.inf.
 'Having luckily arrived early, Gianni could remedy [the situation]'

Similarly, the following example (from Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005: 92) illustrates that the infinitive appears to the left of *francamente* 'frankly', a pragmatic adverb very high in the 'higher adverb space':

- 20 Mi dispiace [annunciarvi francamente una tale notizia]
 me=displeases announce.inf.=cl frankly a such news
 'I'm sorry to announce frankly such news'

¹⁰ I thank P. Benincà for raising this question in the context of my proposal.

Given the data in (19b) and (20), it seems reasonable to conclude (as has been done by the above-cited authors) that the non-finite verb does in fact move to a high position. As already noted, this contrasts with what I claim here, which is that the non-finite verb moves to a relatively low position within its own clause (cf. 18). So the question at this point is how to reconcile the adverb placement facts, illustrated with the data in (19b) and (20), with my claim.

Here, I would like to appeal to the proposal made in §3.2 of this chapter. Specifically, recall that the Borgomanerese clitic-placement facts gave us reason to posit that the non-finite clause does not contain any adverbs. To refresh our memories, let us recall example (15), repeated here as (21):

21 [CP₁ ... Aux_k ... *mija x già y piö z sempri w* [_{VP} t_k [CP₂ ... PtP_i cl_j+z ... [_{VP} t_i t_j]]]]

Let us now reconsider the Italian data in (19) and (20). In these examples, we cannot take the non-finite verb's appearance to the left of the adverbs in question as evidence that the verb itself has (head-)moved to the left of the adverb within its own clause. This is because there are no adverbs within the non-finite clause. Rather, there are only adverbs outside the non-finite clause in the functional structure of a higher clause. Let us therefore propose that appearance of the non-finite verb to the left of the high adverbs in question is the result of movement of the entire non-finite clause (namely, CP₂) to the left of the adverb, which is in the matrix clause (namely, CP₁), as illustrated by the pre- and post-movement representations in (22a–b):

- 22 a [CP₁ fortunatamente [CP₂ arrivato]],...
 b [CP₁ [CP₂ arrivato]_k fortunatamente t_k],...

As can be seen in (22a), on the basis of the analysis of the Borgomanerese facts, I am proposing a structure for embedded non-finite clauses in Italian such as those in (16a–b) and (17b) that is different from that previously assumed. As for the structural position of the adverb in (22), I would like to propose that the adverb resides in the functional structure projected by a null Aux, which itself takes the non-finite clause as a complement. In other words, I take the structure in (18) to be just like the structure proposed for Borgomanerese in (21), the difference being that the Aux, which selects the embedded participial clause in (19/22), is phonologically null:

23 [CP₁ ... fortunatamente ... [_{VP} NULL-AUX[CP₂ ... arrivato ...]]]

Similarly, I take the bracketed structure in (17b), repeated here as (24a), to involve an empty Aux embedding the infinitival verb (the re-elaborated structure is illustrated in (24b)):

- 24 a [Vederti] sarebbe un errore
 b [_{CP1} ...adv1...adv2...adv3... NULL-AUX [_{CP2} vederti]] sarebbe un errore¹¹

To work back through the argument, let us return to the question of whether the data in (19a–b) and (20) serve as evidence that the non-finite verb moves to a relatively high position. Given the proposal illustrated in (20)–(24b), which is driven by the Borgomanerese data and arguments discussed in §3.2, we can conclude that the data in (19)/(20) do not serve as evidence that the non-finite verb moves high (contrary to what is concluded by, for instance, Cinque 1999). Rather, the entire non-finite clause moves to the left of adverbs that reside in a higher clause, headed by a null Aux. The non-finite verb's own clause does not contain any adverbs. This leaves us with the following state of affairs: there is no evidence that the non-finite verb itself moves high (or higher than a finite verb) within its own clause. This is a desirable result, given that it seems more natural that a non-finite verb (with impoverished – or no – tense and subject agreement information) would not move as high as a finite verb. And finally, this alternative view of non-finite verb-movement (namely, that it is low) leaves us with the need for an alternative explanation of the fact that the clitic appears to the right of the non-finite verb in the constructions in question (cf. 16a–b and 17b). The proposal here is that the V-domain is accessed for clitic-placement in such non-finite clauses.

5.2.1. *Relative freedom of postverbal clitic combinations as evidence for low placement* I would like to discuss one final empirical issue (and the theoretical analysis thereof) that supports the idea that the non-finite verb does not move high within its clause (and that therefore the clitic's position to the right of the non-finite verb indicates a low clitic-placement). Specifically, I would like to consider Săvescu's (2007) analysis of clitic-placement facts in Romanian.

As Săvescu notes, Romanian does not exhibit the Person Case Constraint on clitic combinations that one finds in numerous other Romance languages (as discussed by, for example, Perlmutter 1971; Bonet 1991), whereby a 3rd person

¹¹ The idea is reminiscent of Kayne's (1992) proposal for negative 2sg. imperatives in Italian (such as *non mangiarlo* 'don't eat it'), where a null modal embeds the infinitive (e.g. *non* [MODAL [*mangiarlo*]] 'don't eat it'). Of course, the structures discussed above differ in many ways from the negative imperative analysed by Kayne. For one thing, the clitic can appear to the left of the infinitive in the negative imperative; the postulation of the null modal allows for an account of this as a case of clitic-climbing (namely, *non* [_{lo}_k MODAL [*mangiare* _{t_k}]]). If my proposal is on the right track, then it would need to be understood why, despite the presence of the null Aux in (24b), there is no clitic-climbing (namely, * [_{CP1} ...adv1... _{t_k} NULL-AUX [_{CP2} *vedere* _{t_k}]] *sarebbe un errore*). The answer would have to lie in the nature of the NULL-Aux, or the functional heads projected by the NULL-Aux, which would not serve as an appropriate clitic-placement domain.

dative clitic cannot occur with accusative clitics other than 3rd person. It does, however, exhibit some restrictions on how clitics combine. To summarize, Săvescu shows that in Romanian, dative clitics must always precede accusative clitics (cf. 25a), and although 1st and 2nd person clitics can occur together, the former must precede the latter when preverbal, so that it is strictly ungrammatical for a 2nd person clitic to precede a 1st person one in finite contexts (cf. 25b; Săvescu 2007):

- 25 a **Mi** **te** a prezentat Ion la petrecere
 me.dat. =you.acc.= has introduced John at party
 ‘John introduced you to me at the party’
- b ***Ți** **m-** a prezentat Ion la petrecere
 you.dat.= me.acc.= has introduced John at party
 ‘John has introduced me to you at the party’

Simplifying somewhat, Săvescu accounts for the strict ordering by proposing that the functional structure of the clause contains a series of projections above TP that are rigidly ordered, and to which the 1st and 2nd person clitics must move (to check features):

- 26 Person1P >> Person2P >> ... TP >> ...V

If the 1st person clitic moves to Person1P, and the 2nd person clitic moves to Person2P, then, given the rigid ordering of the functional heads in (26), 1st person will always precede 2nd person. Now, what is of relevance to us here is the following: while this strict 1st – 2nd person ordering obtains when the clitics are preverbal (namely, when they occur with finite verbs), there are no such person restrictions when the clitics are postverbal (for Romanian, this means when the clitics occur with gerunds and imperatives).¹² To illustrate, consider Săvescu’s (2007) example with a gerund:

- 27 Dîndu **Ți-** **mă** de nevasta, tata a câstîgat mulți bani (cf. 25)
 giving= you.dat. =me.acc. of wife father has gained much money
 ‘Giving me to you in marriage, my father has gained a lot of money’

The 2nd person clitic can precede the 1st person clitic in this non-finite context. Săvescu accounts for this freedom with the non-finite verb as follows: given the lack of subject agreement we find with gerunds, we can assume that the Person projections (cf. 26) are not merged.¹³ And given the lack of Person

¹² See Ordóñez (2002) for a detailed cross-linguistic discussion of ordering restrictions/freedoms, depending on whether the clitics appear pre- or postverbally.

¹³ Note that this could also be correlated with the lack of a TP; in fact, Săvescu suggests this for the case of imperatives, where she notes ‘true imperatives lack tense, [so] it could be the case that the unavailability of Person projections with true imperatives correlates with the absence of Tense as well’ (following Zanuttini 1997). On imperatives, see note 15 below.

projections, there is no longer anything which imposes the rigid ordering of 1st and 2nd person clitics.

I would like to concur with Săvescu's analysis of the data and argue that this analysis in fact supports the view of low clitic-placement with non-finite verbs advocated here. Note that in the absence of Person projections, the clitics need to find alternative adjunction sites. Now, if the TP and all projections above are missing, we are left with the lower functional projections as potential clitic adjunction sites.¹⁴ It is this, I would like to suggest, that is responsible for the appearance of clitics to the non-finite verb's right in Romanian. That is, in the absence of any higher clausal structure, the clitics must utilize the lower V-domain for placement.¹⁵

6. Conclusions

The data from Borgomanerese indicate that, in some languages, a relatively low (pre-VP) head is made available in finite clauses for complement clitic-placement. This contrasts with such languages as Italian, which arguably utilize a higher (Infl-)domain for clitic-placement in finite clauses. However, non-finite clauses may be different: in Italian-type languages complement clitics appear to the right of the verb in non-finite clauses. While previous literature has taken this fact to indicate that non-finite verbs in these languages move even higher than finite verbs, this work has used the Borgomanerese facts to suggest that the appearance of the clitic to the right of the non-finite verb in Italian indicates the clitic's lower placement in non-finite clauses.

If this view is on the right track, it opens up many new questions regarding clause structure and clitic placement. For example, why do some languages have an active finite V-domain (Borgomanerese) while others do not (Italian)? What other syntactic properties correlate with this point of variation? Why is the V-domain active in non-finite clauses in Italian-type languages? Are there structural entailments? In this regard, it is worth establishing whether there is a

¹⁴ This is consistent with Săvescu's claim that the clitics 'never reach PersonP'. It is important to clarify, though, that while I concur with Săvescu's claim (following Kayne 1991; 1994; Terzi 1999) that the non-finite verb 'moves past the encliticization site to a higher functional position, thus leaving the clitics behind', the enclisis we witness cannot be the result of the non-finite verb moving to a position that is even higher than that to which the finite verb would move.

¹⁵ This discussion raises the question of how to analyse imperatives. Although enclisis in these structures (cf. 17a) has traditionally been taken to indicate (high) movement of the verb to C⁰ (Rivero 1994b), past the high cliticization site in the I-domain, the analysis put forth in this chapter, together with Săvescu's (2007) discussion of imperatives in Romanian, suggests an entirely alternative view. Specifically, it could be that the impoverished clausal structure of imperatives such as that in (17a) indicates, along the lines suggested here for non-finite verbs, a low verb-movement, with a low clitic-placement site (in the V-domain). Further research needs to be done in this area, especially with respect to the different imperative forms in Romanian (which, as Săvescu has shown, yield different clitic-ordering restrictions).

language that has an active V-domain with finite clauses, but an active I-domain with non-finite clauses (though I would expect this not to be possible, since the suggestion here is that the I-domain is not active in non-finite clauses because the I-domain is completely missing). A preliminary consideration of the Romance languages indicates, in fact, that if a language has an active finite V-domain, then it necessarily has an active non-finite V-domain; however, the reverse is not true. Consider in this regard Piedmontese varieties (cf. Burzio 1986), which exhibit enclisis on the past participle in compound tenses, but proclisis in simple tenses (namely, to my knowledge there is no Romance language that exhibits obligatory generalized enclisis in simple tenses (like Borgomanerese), but proclisis in compound tenses). Another entailment might be the following: if the V-domain is active in a non-finite participial clause, then there must be agreement between the object clitic and the participle (consider the fact that Italian absolute clauses involve enclisis and obligatory agreement with the participle; the question is whether there is such a language that has enclisis with the participle, but no agreement). If we find that all of these entailments hold, we might more readily understand the nature of the micro-parameter that underlies the clitic-placement facts and that gives rise to these patterns. Furthermore, understanding the nature of this microparameter will probably tell us something more general about the universal properties of clausal architecture.

Part II

Verbal structures

7 Prohibition and Romance: negative imperatives in the early vernaculars of Italy

Mair Parry

1. Introduction

From the typological viewpoint, the languages of western Europe are unusual in their relative lack of dedicated markers as the only or main strategy for expressing prohibition, Romance languages mainly belonging to the minority group that ‘uses the declarative negation, but not the imperative verb form’ (van der Auwera 2006: 8).^{1,2} However, close examination of the many Romance dialects and early vernaculars reveals a wide range of structures, including ones composed of the negative marker found in declaratives plus the imperative form (the most common exception to the dedicated prohibitive type). Prohibitive structures not based on imperative morphology are typically products of grammaticalization chains that arise out of subjective expressions intended to influence the behaviour of others. Even more so than negative statements, the history of prohibition reveals a persistent tendency to reinforce or revitalize the expression of negation, a fact that lends itself to pragmatic and semantic explanations. Much has also been written, especially in the generative framework, regarding syntactic constraints on negative imperatives.³ The aim of this chapter is to provide data from early Italo-Romance

¹ This chapter arose out of my work for the AHRC-funded SAVI (*Sintassi degli Antichi Volgari d'Italia*) project on the early vernaculars of Italy. Earlier versions were presented at Oxford, Manchester, Rome and Naples, and I am grateful to participants at those seminars for helpful comments, particularly to Paola Benincà, Michela Cennamo, Robert Hastings, Martin Maiden and Nigel Vincent, and to an anonymous reviewer for helpful suggestions. My thanks go also to Pietro Beltrami for permission to consult the online database, *Opera del Vocabolario Italiano (OVI)*, Florence-Chicago, <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/>, from which most of the early Italo-Romance data cited below are taken.

² Van der Auwera and Lejeune (2005) examined 2sg. prohibitive constructions in 495 languages from all over the world. See also Bernini (1998)'s comparison of 122 languages, and Bernini and Ramat (1996: 112–15) on European languages.

³ For Romance, see especially Zanuttini (1997) and Rivero (1994a). A recent analysis of Jespersen's cycle in English ‘argues against the idea that grammaticalization is a diachronic process that is semantically driven’ (van Kemenade 2000: 74).

vernaculars that might allow us a better understanding of the range of pragmatic, semantic and syntactic constraints at work in the evolution of prohibitive strategies. It is structured as follows: §2 summarizes the basic strategies of Romance predicate negation; §3, 4 and 5 consider prohibitive structures in modern Romance, early Italo-Romance and Latin respectively; §6 offers a pragmatic explanation for the development of prohibitive strategies; and §7 presents the conclusion.

2. Italo-Romance negation

Modern Italo-Romance varieties display the wide range of strategies available to Romance in general:

- 1 a) preverbal negation, a continuation of the original Latin:
 O **no** me dà o libbro
 scl= neg.me= gives the book
 ‘He doesn’t give me the book’ (Lig.)
- b) disjoint negation, deriving from a grammaticalization of reinforced negation:
- 2 A **’n** verve **mia** a porta
 scl= neg. opens neg. the door
 ‘(S)he doesn’t open the door’ (Emil.)
- c) postverbal negation, following the loss of the preverbal negative marker of (b):
- 3 A mangia **nen** ël pess
 scl= eats neg. the fish
 ‘(S)he doesn’t eat fish’ (Pied.)

These three types correspond to three stages of the diachronic process known as Jespersen’s Cycle.⁴ All early Italo-Romance varieties continue the Latin construction of preverbal predicate negation deriving from NON, with a significant degree of regional variation in the forms used as negative reinforcers. The latter include nouns referring to a minimal quantity functioning as direct object or adverbial complement of the verb, e.g. *mi(c)a* < MICA(M) ‘crumb’ and *niente/nen(t)* < NE GENTE(M) ‘no people’. *Mica* and *niente* are attested all over Italy, but are particularly frequent in the North, the former in the north-east and the latter in the north-west, while reflexes of NE GUTTA(M) ‘no drop’ are concentrated in Lombardy and the Veneto. The first stage of grammaticalization

⁴ ‘The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word’ (Jespersen 1917: 4).

involving the extension of minimizers beyond the original semantic context predates the first texts; for instance, in (4) *mia* already serves as an indefinite pronoun with negative polarity:

- 4 cel... cercà amont e aval e **non** trovè **mia**
 he searched high and low and neg. found anything
 'he searched high and low and found nothing'
 (Pied., thirteenth century, *Sermoni subalpini*, 251: 34–6)

2.1. Negative concord

Like Modern Italian, the early vernaculars are negative concord languages, in that a postverbal negative indefinite pronoun must be preceded by a preverbal negative marker, the result being one semantic negation. If the negative pronoun precedes the verb, no negative marker is allowed in Modern Italian, whereas this is optional in many early vernaculars, with northern varieties (cf. 5a–d), together with Sardinian and Sicilian (cf. 5e–f), showing a higher frequency of occurrence than central and southern varieties:

- 5 a **Nesun** ge more ni g' á grameça
 no-one there= dies nor therein= has sorrow
 'No-one dies there nor feels sorrow'
 (Lomb., fourteenth century, Pietro da Bescapè, *Sermone*, 48: 815)
- b Ke **nesun** homo **no** l' apella
 that no man neg. him= calls
 'That no one calls him'
 (ibid. 51: 1063)
- c che **nesun** olse incredare... algun vaxello novo
 that no-one dare caulk.inf. any vessel new
 (Ven., *Capitolare dei bottai dell'ottobre*, 1338, 446: 2–3)
- d **nesun** **no** li olse dare da lavorare
 no-one neg. to-him= dare give.inf. to work.inf.
 'let no-one dare give him work'
 (ibid. 447: 14)
- e alla voluntate de lu quale **nullu** homu poti resisteri
 to-the will of the who no man can resist.inf.
 'whose will no man can resist'
 (Sic., *Libru de lu dialagu de sanctu Gregoriu*, 1337, 33: 9–10)
- f che **nullu** **non** sia prelato ad autro
 that no-one neg. be superior to another
 'that no-one should be above the others'
 (ibid. 7: 37–8)

3. Prohibition in Romance

Zanuttini (1997: 121) proposed the following correlation:

In Romance, pre-verbal negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves do not co-occur with true imperative forms of main verbs, but do co-occur with true imperative forms of auxiliaries. Post-verbal negative markers do not exhibit any such restriction.

'True' imperatives are forms unique to the imperative in that person (see also Rivero 1994a), while suppletive imperatives use indicative or subjunctive, or non-finite forms (infinitive or gerund). Thus, while Piedmontese and French use identical forms for 2sg. positive and negative imperatives (cf. 6a), 'sing' ~ 'don't sing!', Italian and Romanian use infinitives in the negative (cf. 6b):

- 6 a Fr. Chante! ~ (Ne) chante pas! Pied. Canta! ~ Canta nen!
 b It. Canta! ~ Non cantare! Ro. Cântă! ~ Nu cânta!

For the 2pl. Italian and Romanian have, according to Zanuttini, suppletive (present indicative) forms with the usual preverbal negation (cf. 7a),⁵ whereas Spanish and Sardinian use present subjunctive forms for both persons (cf. 7b–c):

- 7 a It. Cantate! ~ Non cantate! Ro. Cântați! ~ Nu cântați!
 b Sp. 2sg. Canta! ~ No cantes! 2pl. Cantad! No cantéis!
 c Sar. 2sg. Canta! ~ Non cantes! 2pl. Cantáte! Non cantétas!

The fact that true imperatives freely occur with postverbal negation leads Zanuttini to conclude that the above restrictions are not semantic in origin but syntactic, and that preverbal negation requires a complement marked overtly or covertly for Mood (true imperatives composed of the verbal root + thematic vowel only, with occasional number marking, are thus barred). Since preverbal negatives can occur with true imperatives of auxiliary verbs, as in Friulian (cf. 8),⁶ Zanuttini (1997: 119–21) argues that mood marking can be supplied

⁵ The label 'true' is thus not to be taken literally, in that Italian *cantate* derives from the Latin true imperative. In contrast, the 2sg. imperative is only a dedicated form in the case of the 1st conjugation and a few irregular verbs, yet it is unacceptable with preverbal negation regardless of the conjugation (as noted by Zanuttini 1997:174 n. 3).

⁶ Although interpreted as an infinitive by Toso (1997), the homophony of the infinitive and usual imperative of *stâ* in Ligurian makes it impossible to distinguish between the two (*No stâ à parlâ!* 'Don't speak!'). An unambiguous 2sg. imperative variant, however, does occur in a Genoese poem (cf. i) by A. Gismondi (1942) cited by Schwiderski (1954: 229); I thank W. Fomer for this information.

i no stanni a scappa
 neg. stay (imp.+particle) to escape.inf. ('Don't run away!')

either morphologically (e.g. by a finite subjunctive form) or syntactically by an auxiliary:

- 8 **No** sta (a) crodi! **No** stàit a crodi!
 neg. stay.2sg. (to) believe.inf. neg. stay.2pl. to believe.inf.
 ‘Don’t believe (it)!’

The infinitive used with preverbal negation is thus analysed, following Kayne (1992), as being dependent on a non-overt auxiliary, to which clitics optionally raise (cf. It. *Non lo fare ~ Non farlo* ‘Don’t do it!’). Support for this hypothesis comes from northern Italian varieties that actually have an overt auxiliary, as in (8) above, and by the fact that some 2sg. prohibitive structures based on gerunds found in Puglia and Calabria (cf. 9a) still show overt auxiliaries (cf. 9b):

- 9 a **Non** cadennë
 neg. fall.ger.
 ‘Don’t fall!’

(Cal., Rohlfs 1969: 110)

- b **No scé** scennë
 neg. go.inf. go.ger.
 ‘Don’t go!’

(Tar., Zanuttini 1997: 124)

Deriving (9a) from a structure similar to (9b) has the advantage of reducing the amount of structural variation in prohibitives, since the choice of infinitive or gerund depends on the type of dialect and does not represent a different strategy. Nevertheless, exceptions to the proposed generalization occur in a few northern dialects that show preverbal negatives with true imperatives (Zanuttini 1997: 150):⁷

- 10 **No** tóma!
 neg. fall.imp.2sg.
 ‘Don’t fall!’

(Cortina d’Ampezzo (BL), Jaberg and Jud 1928–40: 1621, 316)

That these negative imperatives also take preverbal complement clitics, unlike positive imperatives, suggests a fossilization of the medieval distribution:⁸

- 11 **No tin** va! vs **Vàtin!**
 neg. you-away= go.imp. go.imp.=you-away
 ‘(Don’t) go away!’

(Vai 1998: 661)

⁷ The type is not, however, unknown in Tuscany or in the Italian literary tradition (Vai 1998: 663).

⁸ For a generative analysis of the ban on clause-initial clitics, known as the Tobler–Mussafia Law, see Benincà (1994b: 213–45).

Indeed, prohibitives with true imperatives also occur in other non-standard Romance varieties (cf. 12a–c), as well as in colloquial Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese dialects (Parkinson 1988: 152) and many early northern Italian vernaculars.

- 12 a Nu fã /zi!
neg. do.imp.2sg. /say.imp.2sg.
'Don't do/say!'
(Ro., A. Stavinschi, p.c.)
- b Nu te du!
neg. you=go.imp.2sg.
'Don't go!'
(Ro., Isac 2002: 2)
- c No rechistad!
neg. murmur.imp.2pl.
'Don't answer back!'
(coll. Sp., Butt and Benjamin 1994: 275)

4. Early Italo-Romance prohibition

4.1. Second person singular

4.1.1. *Preverbal negative + infinitive* This is the most frequent structure, which is also found in northern and southern Gallo-Romance:⁹

- 13 a Bel ami, **ne te desconforter**
fine friend neg. you= despair.inf.
'Dear friend, don't despair!'
(Pied., *Sermoni subalpini*, thirteenth century, 237: 19–21)
- b Va' e da ora in avanti **non maniar carne**
go and from now in ahead neg. eat.inf. meat
'Go and from now on don't eat meat'
(Lig., *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*, fourteenth century, 132: 13–14)

⁹ Old French had both infinitival (cf. i.a) and imperative prohibitives (cf. i.b):

- i a fui, Boort, nel **touchier**
flee, Boort, neg.-him touch.inf.
'Flee, Boort, don't touch him!'
(Jensen 1990: 312, *La Queste del Saint Graal* 193: 7)
- b fui, Lancelot, n' i **entre** mie
flee, Lancelot, neg.= there= enter.imp.2sg. not
'Flee, Lancelot, do not go in there!'
(Jensen 1990: 341, *ibid.* 255: 9)

For Occitan, see Jensen (1986: 266).

- c Fa-te en dre', **no me vegnir** sora!
make=you in back neg. me= come.inf. close
'Get back, don't come near me!'
(Ven., *Atti del Podestà di Lio Mazon*, fourteenth century, 68: 30)
- d De octubro... porri **no mangiare**
of October leeks neg. eat.inf.
'In October... do not eat leeks'
(Nap., *Regimen sanitatis*, thirteenth century, 580: 577)
- e **non culpari** a nullu **nin ti lamintari**
neg.blame.inf. to no-one neg.you=complain.inf.
'do not blame anyone and do not complain'
(Sic., *Istoria di Eneas*, fourteenth century, 40: 24)

On rare occasions, as in Old French (Jensen 1990: 312), this structure may be associated with a polite plural form with singular reference:

- 14 Signore, **non gire** / Ca, se cangate agero
sir neg.go.inf. that if you-change air
'Sir, do not go / For, if you change air'
(Abr., *Buccio di Ranallo*, fourteenth century, 256: 1924–5)

4.1.2. *Preverbal negative + modal infinitive + infinitive* The occasional use of a modal auxiliary could be a Latin calque, but it is not restricted to translations:

- 15 a **No voler** perde jorno bon
neg. want.inf. lose.inf. day good
'Don't waste a good day'
(Lig., *Anonimo Genovese*, fourteenth century, 547: 108)
- b non perzò me nde **volere menazare**
neg.therefore me= thereof= want.inf. threaten.inf.
'do not therefore threaten me on that account'
(Nap., *Libro de la destructione de Troya*, fourteenth century, 182: 23)

4.1.3. *Preverbal negative + imperative* Northern Italian vernaculars are problematic, in that it may be impossible to decide whether a written form corresponds to an infinitive or to an imperative, the former having an apocopated variant that is homophonous with the latter or, in the case of polysyllabic 1st conjugation verbs, the two differently accented forms (imp. ['parla] ~ inf. [par'la]) appear as homographs. The Milanese of Bonvesin da la Riva has many clear examples of infinitival prohibitives, but third conjugation verbs (e.g. *attend* 'heed' and *met* 'put') are ambiguous:

- 16 a **No 'm grevezar, ... no atend** al Satanax, / **No attend** ai
neg. me=trouble.inf. neg.care-for(?) to-the Satan not care-for(?) to-the

desiderij

desires

‘Don’t cause me trouble, ...pay no attention to Satan, pay no attention to desires’
(Mil., *Bonvesin*, thirteenth century, 57: 69–72)¹⁰

- b No di’ **met** pan in vin... **no met** im parte... / Ni
not you-must put.inf. bread in wine neg. put.(?)in part neither
graëllin ni squella
dish nor bowl
‘You must not dunk your bread in the wine... don’t push aside... your dish or
bowl’

(ibid. 318: 93, 97–8)¹¹

Monosyllabic *sta* ‘stay’, *fa* ‘make’, *da* ‘give’ are both infinitives and imperatives:

- 17 se tu mang con person,/ **No fa’** rumor ni ple
if you eat with persons neg.make noise nor argument
‘if you eat with people, don’t be noisy or argumentative’
(Mil., *Bonvesin*, thirteenth century, 321: 158)

1st conjugation polysyllabic infinitives may appear without the usual final *-r* (cf. 18a), rendering structures like (18b) ambiguous:

- 18 a el vor **cantá** e ri
he wants sing.inf. and laugh.inf.
‘he wishes to sing and laugh’
(Mil., *Bonvesin*, thirteenth century, 4: 42)
- b Se ’t fa mesté parlar, **no parla** a boca plena
if to-you= makes need speak.inf. neg. speak(?) to mouth full
‘If you need to speak, don’t speak with your mouth full’
(ibid. 320: 146)¹²

¹⁰ Compare:

- i a De sí **attend** (inf.) se obliga lo nostro Salvator
‘Our Lord commits himself to attend to it’
(Mil., *Bonvesin*, thirteenth century, 47: 472)

- b **Attend** (imp.) al me’ conseio
‘Heed my advice’

(ibid. 63: 226)

¹¹ Compare:

- i **Met** (imp.) la correza in collo
‘Put your belt around your neck’
(ibid. 235: 97–9)

¹² The proximity of an infinitive in *-r* is not proof that *parla* is an imperative form, given the following sequence of different representations of the same infinitive:

- i Tu ’m voi **fá far** quel’ ovra
you me= want do.inf. do.inf. that work
‘You wish to make me do that work’
(ibid. 63: 234)

Nevertheless, two unambiguous negative imperatives are attested (cf. 19a: *va* 'go.imp.' vs *andar* 'go.inf.')

- 19 a Taia lo pan per ordine, no **va**' taiand per tuto, /No **va**'
 cut the bread for order neg. go.imp. cut.ger. for all neg. go.imp.
 taiand dal parte
 cut.ger. by-the sides
 'Cut the loaf neatly, don't cut it all up anyhow, don't cut bits off the sides'
 (Mil., *Bonvesin*, thirteenth century, (318: 91–2)
- b [S]e tu sporz la copa,/La summità del napo col polex mai
 if you pass the cup the top of-the edge with-the thumb never
 no **toca**
 neg. touch.imp.
 '[I]f you offer the goblet, / never touch the rim of the cup with your thumb'
 (ibid. 321: 173–4)

Indeed, Salvioni (1896: 260) gives the normal prohibitive 2sg. form in early Lombard texts as negation + imperative form, without mention of ambiguity:

- 20 no **considera** né **guarda** né **atende** pur a l'ingiuria
 neg. consider.imp. neither look.imp. nor care-for.imp. also to the-harm
 'do not consider or pay any notice or attention to the harm'
 (Lomb., *Parafrasi di San Giovanni*, fourteenth century, 22: 32–3)

According to Nicolas (1994), the poetry of the *Anonimo Genovese* has both infinitival and imperatival negatives.¹³ However, 1st conjugation homographs from other Ligurian texts may well be ambiguous, and prohibitives from areas where the modern dialects show oscillation between infinitival final *-e/-i* in 2nd, 3rd and 4th conjugations must be treated with caution:

- 21 a Amigo non **reputa** quello che te loa in toa presencia
 friend neg. consider that-one that you=praises in your presence
 'Don't consider a person who praises you to your face a friend'
 (Lig., *Epistola Beati Bernardy*, fourteenth century, p. 356)
- b non **dubità**' ben che sea vesco de darne per cambio de lo to
 neg. doubt.inf. well that I-be bishop of to-give=me forchange of the your
 figlo
 son

¹³ 3rd conjugation negative imperatives are not considered ambiguous, although there can be a problem with the 4th conjugation ending in *-i*: 'In the negative imperative, the infinitive alternates with the imperative: *L'otruì non prendi ni tener* ['do not **take** (imp.) or keep (inf.) other's belongings'] (136: 16); although the infinitival form is clear in some cases, *ni mai esser dormioso* ['never be (inf.) sleepy'] (116: 7), in others it proves ambiguous: in *no ge dormi, ma semper vegi* ['don't sleep there, but always remain awake'] (14: 542) is the form *dormi* to be interpreted as *dórmì* (imp.) or *dormir* (inf.)?' (translation of Nicolas 1994: clxix–xx).

'Don't worry about exchanging me for your son, even though I'm a bishop'
(Lig., *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*, fourteenth century, 160: 7–8)

- c 'Femena, **non piançi**
woman neg. cry.inf.
'Woman, don't cry'

(ibid. 250: 16)

In (21b–c), the editor has opted for infinitives,¹⁴ but on close inspection the *Dialogo* appears to distinguish consistently between imperative forms in *-i* and infinitives in *-e*:

- 22 'Beivi ti questo beverageio'... ch'elo vose avanti **beve**' lo venim....Ma voglandose mete' quello venim a la boca per **beive**-lo, l'omo de Dee Savin si li dise: '**Non beivi**...

'You drink (imp.) this beverage... that he preferred to drink (inf.) the poison... But as he raised that poison to his mouth to drink (inf.) it, the man of God, Savin said to him: "Don't drink (imp.) it"'

(Lig., *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*, fourteenth century, 165: 9; 12–14)

All unambiguous cases of *temere* 'to fear' confirm this distribution of *-e* and *-i* endings in this text,¹⁵ so one may assume that (23) (and 21c) contains an imperative and not an infinitive:

- 23 Non **temi**', maire, che non moro aora
'Fear (imp.) not, mother, I'm not dying just now'

(ibid. 238: 21–2)¹⁶

4.1.4. *Guarda + preverbal negative + imperative/subjunctive/infinitive* No examples of auxiliary *stare* 'to stand' were found, but periphrastic prohibitives involving the imperative of *guardare* 'to watch, beware' occur with a juxtaposed negated imperative (24a), subjunctive (24b) or infinitive (24c):

- 24 a Guarda **no 't lassa** **vence**
watch neg. you=let.imp. defeat.inf.
'Mind you don't let yourself be beaten!'

(Mil., *Bonvesin*, thirteenth century, 56: 44)

- b Va, mittite in prescione!>>... / <<Et **guarda non te sciolti!**>>
go put=yourself in prison and watch neg. yourself= loosen.subj.
'Go, get yourself to prison!... "And mind you don't untie your bonds!"'

(Abr., *Buccio di Ranallo*, fourteenth century, 48: 903–4)

¹⁴ As indicated by apostrophes (= apocope) and accents, but all seven unambiguous cases of infinitive 'cry' are *piançe*.

¹⁵ Cf. *temi Dee* (ibid. 224: 25–7) 'Fear God!'

¹⁶ Earlier use of *vene*, the 2sg. imperative of 'come', used by the same person to the same interlocutor confirms that this is a 2sg. imperative and not a polite 2pl.

- c Calcas, Calcas, **guarda non tornare** plu a li Troyani
 Calcas Calcas watch neg. return.inf. more to the Trojans
 ‘Calcas, Calcas, mind you don’t return again to the Trojans’
 (Nap., *Libro de la destructione de Troya*, fourteenth century, 119: 2-3)

4.1.5. *Preverbal negative + subjunctive/indicative/future* Present subjunctive forms act as suppletive imperatives for a few basically stative verbs (‘be, have, know, want’; Rohlfs 1968: 255), where the interpretation is necessarily agentive (Salvi and Borgato 1995: 155):

- 25 **Sapij** pur suffrir ... gli falsi cristian ... e **no ghe vogli**
 know.imp.2sg. indeed suffer.inf. the false Christians and neg. them=want.subj.
 ma
 evil
 ‘Learn to tolerate ... false Christians ... and don’t wish them ill’
 (Lomb., *Parafrasi di San Giovanni*, fourteenth century, 23: 4–5)

The use of present indicative, the future and, occasionally, the imperfect subjunctive is also found, as in modern varieties:

- 26 ser Nicolò dis: tu **no la toraj**
 sir Nicolò said you neg. it=will-take
 ‘Master Nicholas said: you won’t take it’
 (Ven., *Atti del Podestà di Lio Mazar*, fourteenth century, 17: 10)

4.1.6. *Preverbal negative + auxiliary + gerund* The only examples of gerundial periphrases associated with prohibition use a motion verb as auxiliary, in either a true imperatival (cf. 19a) or an infinitival form (cf. 27):

- 27 Or piagne ‘l suo descionore, e de te **non gir curanno**
 now weep the its dishonour and of you neg. go.inf. worry ger.
 ‘Now weep for the slight to its honour and do not think about yourself’
 (Umb., *Jacopone da Todi*, thirteenth century, 38: 23)

4.2. *Early Italo-Romance prohibition: 2pl. (plural or polite singular reference)*

4.2.1. *Preverbal negative + imperative* 2pl. imperative forms are generally identical to the present indicative forms:¹⁷

- 28 a or **non credite** / a quel che dice
 now neg. believe.imp.2pl. to that which she-says
 ‘now don’t believe what she says’
 (Emil., *Memoriali bolognesi*, thirteenth century, 6: 11–12)

¹⁷ This identity may well in central and southern varieties betray the influence of the imperative form on the indicative, which otherwise would have ended in *-i* (< *-ris*; Maiden 2007: 159–61).

- b **Non fai** çomai pu mâ e **no invorai**
 neg. do.imp.2pl. ever more evil and neg. steal.2pl.
 ‘Don’t ever commit evil again and don’t steal’
 (Lig., *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*, fourteenth century, 176: 22)
- c Fioli mie’, **no fé** negota de scovegnivele e **non tolé**
 sons my neg. do.imp.2pl. anything of unseemly and neg. take.imp.2pl.
 aqua
 water
 ‘My sons, don’t do anything unseemly and don’t take any water’
 (Ven., *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, thirteenth century, 90: 15–16)
- d e **no nce date** tardanza
 and neg. therein= give.imp.2pl. delay
 ‘and don’t delay’
 (Nap., *Libro de la destructione de Troya*, fourteenth century, 156: 9)
- e O cumpagnuni ... **non fugiti!** ... **Non sbaditi**
 oh companions neg. flee.imp.2pl. neg. distract.imp.2pl.
 ‘Oh companions ... don’t flee! ... Don’t be distracted’
 (Sic., *Istoria di Eneas*, fourteenth century, 176: 18–19)

But in early Friulian (cf. 29), which, like modern Friulian, has distinct present indicative (-s) and imperative (-t) forms (Benincà and Vanelli 2005), the prohibitive is unambiguously composed of preverbal negation + imperative:

- 29 Diò!, **no mi lasat** difur
 God neg. me= leave.imp.2pl. outside
 ‘God!, do not leave me outside’
 (*Biello dumlo*, fourteenth century?, 149: 39)

4.2.2. *Preverbal negative + subjunctive*¹⁸ Alongside the present subjunctive (cf. 30a–b), the imperfect subjunctive (cf. 30c) is also occasionally found:

- 30 a **Non abiá** vu ça de timore!
 neg. have.subj.2pl. you that of fear
 ‘Do not be afraid!’
 (Lomb., Pietro da Bescapè, *Sermone*, fourteenth century, 63: 1812)
- b Madonna, **non me credate** atterrire con queste vostre pature
 my-lady neg. me= believe.subj.2pl. frighten.inf. with these your fears
 ‘My lady, do not believe you can frighten me with these fears of yours’
 (Nap., *Libro de la destructione de Troya*, fourteenth century, 59: 30–1)

¹⁸ Salvioni (1896: 260) gives examples of imperfect subjunctive imperatives in early Lombard, which may reflect the influence of the Latin perfect subjunctive usage. It survives in some modern dialects (e.g. Bologna, Marche; Rohlfs 1968: 357), but it is not clear whether it represents the normal expression of prohibition.

- c Se alcuna persunna ve spia como questo sea fatto, de mi niente
 if any person you= asks how this be done of me nothing
dixesi
 say.imperf.subj.2pl.
 'If anyone asks you how this is done, say nothing of me'
 (Lig., *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*, fourteenth century, 187: 4–5)

5. Prohibition in Latin

The source language, Latin, offered a similar range of options, although it is significant that each involves a dedicated prohibitive, as the negative marker **NE** differs from the **NON** of non-imperative contexts (Pinkster 1990: 192, 198–9):¹⁹

- 31 a) dedicated negative marker + imperative: **NE FAC** 'don't do' (limited to poetry after Plautus and Terence):

NE SIS PLORA
 neg. please cry.imp.2sg.
 'Please, don't cry'

(Plautus, *Per.* 656)

- b) subjunctive, either present (e.g. **NE FACIAS** 'don't do!') or, more commonly, perfect (e.g. **NE FECERIS** 'don't do!'):

- 31 a **PROIN TU NE QUO ABEAS LONGIUS AB**
 therefore you neg. which.abl.sg. you-leave.pres.subj.2pl. further from
AEDIBUS
 house.abl.pl.
 'Mind you, do not go too far away from home'

(Plautus, *Men.* 327)

- b **NE VOS QUIDEM, IUDICES, MORTEM TIMUERITIS**
 neg. you certainly judges death.acc.sg. fear.imperf.subj.2pl.
 'You, judges, must not fear death'

(Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.98)

- c) use of negative auxiliary + infinitive (e.g. **NOLI FACERE** 'do not do!'), considered the most polite strategy:

- 32 **NOLI SIS TU ILLI ADVORSARI**
 you-not-want please you him.dat. resist.inf.
 'Please do not resist him'

(Plautus, *Cas.* 205)

The Romance type, preverbal declarative negative + infinitive, appears in Late Latin (Bourciez 1930):

¹⁹ Exceptionally, **NON**, the result of an earlier cycle of reinforcement (**NE** 'not' + **OENUM** 'one'), is used in prohibitives involving 'a presupposition contained in context or situation' (Pinkster 1990: 192).

- 33 a NON TANGERE
neg. touch.inf.
'Don't touch!'

(*Mulomedicina*, fourth century AD, 129)

- b NON NEGARE
neg. deny.inf.
'Don't deny!'

(Rome, *Liber martyrum*, sixth century AD)

6. Diachronic evolution

Having reviewed the prohibitive strategies of Italo-Romance, we may briefly consider their relevance to the debate regarding the nature of the constraints on the co-occurrence of negative markers with true imperatives. As already mentioned, generative analyses offer syntactic explanations; for instance, Zanuttini (1997) and Poletto and Zanuttini (2003: 197) argue that in imperative structures the illocutionary force of the sentence must be checked in C by the verb or by the preverbal negative (head).²⁰ The latter case requires that the Mood projection be checked by an overtly modal form (excluding thus the morphologically reduced true imperative) or by an auxiliary. Postverbal negative markers, being maximal projections, do not block the raising to C of the true imperative (see Benincà and Poletto 2005). Han's (2001) analysis proposes a semantic restriction relating to the scope of the negative: she argues that negative imperatives are impossible in some languages 'because the syntax derives a structure in which the operator encoding the illocutionary force arrives within the c-command domain of negation, where it is interpreted as being negated'. As this is semantically incoherent, it is ruled out, although Han notes (2001: 322) that syntactic configuration is not always decisive regarding scopal interpretation. Zeijlstra (2006) builds on Han's theory, positing an interesting correlation between the compulsory marking of negation on the verb (even when this is preceded by another negative element, i.e. 'strict' negative concord (NC)), and the acceptability of true negative imperatives (TNIs).²¹ Early Italo-Romance vernaculars that have TNIs indeed show preverbal NC (cf. 5b, d, f),²² but both phenomena are optional, and a given text need not exemplify the correlation.

²⁰ 'Since the negative marker satisfies the features of C, the verb itself need not and thus cannot move to C' (Zanuttini 1997: 146).

²¹ The preverbal negative in strict-NC languages is deemed to have an uninterpretable feature, which allows it to raise with the verb to C and prevents it from having scope over the illocutionary force of the imperative, whereas negative scope is provided by an operator in SpecNegP (Zeijlstra 2006: 417).

²² There may be an implicational hierarchy, in that TNIs correlate with (optional) preverbal negative concord in a given region, but the opposite is not necessarily attested.

From a typological perspective, the morphological imperative is relatively common in prohibitions, as found in 296 of 495 languages surveyed by van der Auwera (2006: 8, 19): 113 with the declarative negative, 183 with a dedicated prohibitive marker. There is significant morpho-syntactic variation, but the dedication of prohibitive markers is not considered to depend on their formal properties. The clear statistical preference for dedicated prohibitive markers (327/495 languages) is attributed to a semantic/pragmatic need to mark formally the inherent ‘illocutionary dynamicity’ of prohibitions, so as to distinguish them from the stative use of negatives in declarative propositions (van der Auwera 2006: 18–19).²³ This distinction stems from the irrealis nature of prohibitives, whereas declaratives express factual reality (Bernini and Ramat 1996: 112).

Since imperative morphology of full verbs with preverbal negation is attested in Early Latin, as well as in early and modern Italo-Romance varieties, the two are clearly not totally incompatible, either structurally or semantically. However, this always appears to be a minority option, although more widespread in Romance than usually thought. The avoidance of the imperative, the unmarked term of the deontic system, both morphologically and semantically (Lyons 1977, II; F. R. Palmer 1986: 108) thus demands an explanation. Alarcos Llorach (1980³: 95–105) compares the imperative’s relationship to the temporal and modal paradigms of the verb to that of the vocative in the nominal system – both belong to the allocutionary domain. Indeed, it is the presumed effect on the addressee that has occasioned the numerous alternative strategies to the morphological imperative. Maiden (2006; 2007) draws a parallel between imperatives and interjections, in that the former may (at an early stage of acquisition especially) be considered paradigmatically not integrated into the lexeme to which they belong, a fact that accounts for a certain evolutionary independence and resistance to analogical developments in the rest of the verb.

Pragmatically speaking, although use of the imperative entails differing degrees of imperiousness, and there is a distinction to be drawn between directives issued in the interest of speaker or hearer respectively (Brown and Levinson 1978; Poletto and Zanuttini 2003), it is still the most direct expression of the act of commanding. This is why it is judged by Brown and Levinson (1978: 191) to be ‘one of the most intrinsically face-threatening speech acts’. Bald imperatives conform with Grice’s Maxims of Cooperation (Grice 1975), namely, be as direct, unambiguous and concise as possible so as to achieve maximum efficiency of communication, but, unless there are obvious benefits for the hearer, such forms may be deemed too aggressive, for they unambiguously seek to impose the speaker’s will on the hearer (Brown and Levinson

²³ Significantly, stative verbs lack imperatives (Salvi and Borgato 1995: 155).

1978: 95).²⁴ Negative bald imperatives may be doubly threatening, if even negative statements can be confrontational to the extent that a belief, presupposition or intention held by the interlocutor is contradicted (on markedness and negation, see Givón 1978; Horn 1989: ch. 3). Given that the hearer's judgement is openly questioned, it is not surprising that in these highly 'interactive' contexts, known to promote linguistic change (Cheshire 1996), bald imperatives are often replaced by more attenuated polite forms (e.g. modal expressions incorporating subjunctive forms or auxiliary periphrases), so as to avoid direct mands and save the addressee's face. In cases where saving face is not an issue, as when parents rebuke children (and imperatives feature frequently in early language acquisition), substitution may take the form of periphrases designed to catch attention through the use of novel and, specifically, dynamic expressions, such as the *guarda* type seen above and the progressive constructions *non stare/andare* + infinitive/gerund.²⁵ These constructions, whether deferential or expressive, may via the process of grammaticalization become integrated into the grammar and replace the original imperative forms.²⁶

Although 2sg. prohibitives based on imperative forms with a **preverbal** marker of declarative negation have all but disappeared from Italo-Romance, imperatives with **postverbal** markers of negation have persisted in the North, seemingly confirming the generative insistence on structural factors and the nature of the marker (head vs adverb in a specifier position). From a configurational perspective, one might argue that the development of postverbal negation simply removed the impediment to raising the imperative to C, dispelling the need for alternative strategies. Indeed, the demise of the 'more deferential or expressive' medieval alternatives in these northern varieties also appears to weaken the pragmatic argument, were it not for other, non-syntactic, factors that will now be considered.

In Piedmontese (as in the dominant 1st conjugation in French), the infinitive becomes homophonous with the 2pl. imperative (Pied. *canté/scrive/fini* '(to) sing/write/finish'; Fr. *chanter/chantez!*, both [ʃan'te]), so that using the infinitive for the 2sg. prohibitive neutralizes the distinction between singular and plural.²⁷ Although ambiguity as a trigger for diachronic change is rarely sustainable, in

²⁴ See Brown and Levinson (1978: 95–101) for a range of contexts in which bald imperatives may be used in polite contexts without threatening the standing or self-esteem of the addressee.

²⁵ Cf. the preference or requirement for imperfective aspect in Slavic prohibitives regarding intentional actions (Levinson 2005).

²⁶ The Welsh phrase *paid â* (lit.) 'stop doing' has been generalized to all contexts, including future reference, as the usual prohibition strategy (Borsley and Jones 2000: 31–3). Haspelmath (1999) sees the maxim of extravagance as the driving force behind the constant emergence of attention-seeking expressions.

²⁷ The loss of number distinction is relatively common in Piedmontese non-imperative verb morphology, but then compulsory 2sg. subject clitics disambiguate singular from plural. Neutralization of the distinction, however, seems to occur in the little-used (positive and negative) anomalous infinitival imperatives of *esse* 'be' and *avèj* 'have' (Brero and Bertodatti 1988: 91, 94).

the case of rival alternatives it may have encouraged the use of a non-ambiguous form and the avoidance of infinitival prohibitives. In Lombard, no person ambiguity arises, but the 3rd conjugation infinitive is homophonous with the 2sg. imperative. In this case, analogy, whose influence on linguistic change is undisputed, could have favoured the symmetrical pattern of positive and negative imperatives in the other conjugations also:

- 34 *met! ~ (no) met mia!* >>> *pàr! ~ (no) pàr! mia*²⁸
 put! ~ don't put! (inf./imp.) speak! ~ don't speak (imp.)!

Whether the development of postverbal negative markers in these varieties was crucial to the survival of negated imperative forms or coincidental therefore needs further investigation, but it did not prevent some varieties from adopting alternative strategies:

- 35 a Movrat mia!
 move.inf.=you.2sg. neg.
 'Don't move!'
 (Albinea (RE), AIS VIII, Map 1647, pt. 444)
- b sta miga kaskà
 stay.inf. neg. fall.inf. (aspectual periphrasis)
 'Don't fall!'
 (S. Secondo (PG), AIS, VIII, Map 1621, pt. 413)
- c Cantes plus!
 Sing.pres.subj. 2sg. neg.
 'Don't sing!'
 (Occ., Ronjat 1937: 609)
- d Regardatz ben e toquetz ren!
 look.pres.indic.2pl. well and touch.pres.subj.2pl. neg.
 'Look closely and don't touch'
 (Occ., Wheeler 1988: 276)

Prohibitives with postverbal negation do not conform to the statistical tendency for 'Neg First' (Jespersen 1917: 5–6; Horn 1989: 450), but the subsequent ellipsis of an auxiliary such as *stare* 'to stand' can produce the more salient 'Neg First' here too:

- 36 a brisa kaskér
 neg. fall.inf.
 'Don't fall!'
 (Bol., AIS VIII, Map 1621)
- b brisa magnér
 neg. eat.inf.
 'Don't eat (inf.)!'
 (Rom., Pellicciardi 1977: 174)

²⁸ Preferred to *no parlà* (inf.) *mia*.

7. Conclusion

The history of prohibitive strategies from Latin to Romance reveals a tendency to avoid negating bald imperatives, which has led to the modern situation whereby certain varieties no longer permit the preverbal negative + imperative structure. As modern theoretical approaches propose very different explanations for this state of affairs, our discussion of early Italo-Romance data has sought to highlight the multiplicity of possible factors that need to be considered, arguing that the present syntactic rules could be the result of pragmatic constraints, rather than syntactic incompatibility.

8 The periphrasis *aviri a* + infinitive in contemporary Sicilian dialect

Luisa Amenta

1. The state of the art

The periphrasis *aviri a* ‘have to’ + infinitive is a particularly productive form of the Modern Sicilian verbal system.¹ There is evidence in Early Sicilian of this construction, which is still maintained today due, in part, to the polysemy of the periphrasis, which licenses both temporal and modal interpretations. Under both readings, the periphrasis therefore complements the Sicilian verbal system, which almost entirely lacks a synthetic future paradigm and a lexical equivalent of the Italian *dovere* ‘must’.² There is no agreement among scholars about the precise temporal or modal meaning conveyed by the periphrasis. For instance, Rohlf (1969: §591) considers the periphrasis as one of the analytic future forms characteristic of southern Italy (including Sicily, Apulia, Basilicata and Abruzzo) that maintain modal optative and deontic values implying the idea of necessity. Similarly, Leone (1995: 36) notes how the periphrastic form *aviri a* + infinitive highlights future action with a modal meaning. On the other hand, Piccitto (1955: 150) and, in turn, Ebner (1966: 41) exclude the temporal meaning in favour of a purely modal interpretation.

More recent studies (Arcuri and D’Agostino 1982; Bentley 1997; 1998), based on corpora of early (fourteenth- and fifteenth-century) and modern (nineteenth-century) Sicilian texts, again highlight the fact that the meaning expressed by the periphrasis is both modal (deontic, epistemic and volitive) and temporal. On this question, Bentley (1997; 1998) maintains that the periphrasis has to be considered a future form, without necessarily implying any modal value. Moreover, she emphasizes that, although in Early Sicilian texts the

¹ I would like to thank all the participants of the *First Cambridge Italian Dialect Syntax Meeting* for their comments and suggestions during the discussion of this chapter and, in particular, Delia Bentley, Roberta D’Alessandro and Michele Loporcaro. I am also grateful to Giovanni Ruffino and Mari D’Agostino for their support with the data from the *Atlante Linguistico della Sicilia* (ALS). All shortcomings and errors are, of course, mine.

² The synthetic future is restricted to the north-eastern Sicilian area and to a small area around Trapani.

deontic interpretation prevails, in modern texts the temporal value (often without any concomitant deontic interpretation) dominates. The hypothesis that in the Early Sicilian *scripta* the construction had a purely modal meaning is also confirmed by studies on the autochthony of the synthetic future, widely demonstrated by Bentley (1997; 1998) for Early Sicilian and by Loporcaro (1999) for southern Italy more generally. Indeed, at least for the written texts, the temporal function of the construction is limited, since in the *scripta* the future was primarily expressed through a synthetic form, while the *aviri* periphrasis, alongside the modal verb *duviri*, primarily had modal functions.

In oral usage, by contrast, the analytic construction probably also had a modal meaning in addition to the temporal one. Hence, in the passage from Early to Modern Sicilian, the periphrasis, whose productivity consequently increased as a result of the decline of written Sicilian and the synthetic future paradigm, would have undergone a conceptual shift from the expression of deontic modality to intention/prediction, until it became a grammaticalized temporal marker (cf. Bybee and Pagliuca 1987; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994).³ However, the nineteenth-century data examined by Arcuri and D'Agostino (1982) and Bentley (1997; 1998) reveal that the periphrasis maintained many of the meanings that it had had in Early Sicilian, including the temporal one.

To summarize, through the course of time, the periphrasis has been associated with two principal meanings: a) in the modal domain, it expresses either deontic modality (obligation, necessity, exhortation) or epistemic modality (certainty, probability, supposition, prediction); b) in the temporal domain, the periphrasis is used as an analytic expression of futurity. From this perspective, following a descriptive approach within the grammaticalization framework, we shall analyse the features and meaning of the periphrasis in contemporary Sicilian.

2. The corpus

For the data analysis, we have used the translation answers supplied by a sample of informants and some oral examples collected in the surveys carried out using the sociolinguistic questionnaire of the *Atlante Linguistico della Sicilia (ALS)*. For each geographical area of the *ALS* enquiry, the sample is based on five family-types that vary in relation to the educational level and the first language (Italian or dialect) of the various members, in turn divided into 'Grandparent – Parent – Child' according to the age of the informants, and two separate

³ Many authors have highlighted the close relationship between modality and futurity. For instance, Lyons (1977: 816) includes prediction among the prototypical categories of the future, together with supposition and intention. Fleishman (1982: 29) considers the future a tense with an inherently modal nature, and Bybee and Pagliuca (1987) talk of the future as an epistemic modality of a prediction.

categories of 'adolescent', one with a high level of education and the other with a low level of education. Thus, for each area seventeen informants were interviewed. For the present survey we have analysed the results from informants for twenty points of enquiry of the *ALS*. These are representative of the entire territory of the island, allowing a first qualitative interpretation of the data. Thanks to the typology of the sample, which allows informants to be distinguished according to their first language, age and educational level, we have also considered possible differences in the use of particular forms linked to these sociolinguistic variables.

The questionnaire contains two groups of questions to be translated. The first questions are in Italian and are to be rendered in Sicilian, while the second are in Sicilian and are to be rendered in Italian. Among those in Italian, we have selected three sentences containing the verb *dovere* 'must' (cf. I, III–IV below) and one containing the verb *bisognare* 'to be necessary' (cf. II below) in order to verify the use of the periphrasis for the expression of deontic and epistemic modality in the informants' dialect translations:

- I Per lavarsi **dovette** uscire fuori (VI, 5)⁴
 for wash.inf. he-had-to exit.inf. outside
 'To wash himself he had to go outside'
- II **Bisogna** rifare i tetti con le tegole (VI, 23)
 it-is-necessary redo.inf. the roofs with the tiles
 'It is necessary to rebuild the roofs with tiles'
- III Mi **devi** fare un piacere (VI, 26)
 to-me= you-must do.inf. a pleasure
 'You must do me a favour'
- IV Mi **devo** comprare i pantaloni nuovi (VI, 39)
 to-me= I-must buy.inf. the trousers new
 'I must buy some new trousers'

The first three sentences have a [+animate] subject different from the speaker. In (I), the event is located before the utterance time and implies that the modality of the sentence is not in the domain of prescription, necessity or obligation, since the [+past] temporal reference implies an epistemic modal interpretation of certainty. Sentence (II) represents an exhortation, while (III) contains a request. In (IV), the speaker is also the grammatical subject, and this implies that the modality of the sentence is to be interpreted as intentional; therefore the use of the periphrasis, even as an expression of a future temporal meaning, can be justified in the translation.

⁴ The numbers in brackets refer to the part of the questionnaire from which the sentences are taken.

We have also considered three other sentences taken from the same part of the questionnaire that contain a future tense or an event time subsequent to the utterance time with an intentional value. These sentences allow us therefore to verify the use of the periphrasis in translating the future tense into Sicilian:

- V Tuo padre **verrà** anche domani (VI, 10)
 your father will-come also tomorrow
 'Your father will also come tomorrow'
- VI Il frumento lo **raccogliamo** dopodomani (VI, 35)
 the wheat it= we-harvest after-tomorrow
 'We're harvesting the wheat the day after tomorrow'
- VII Quello si **romperà** una gamba (VI, 28)
 that-one self= will-break a leg
 'He will break his leg'

Sentence (VII) has a future tense with an epistemic-suppositional value that does not refer to an event following the utterance time, since the supposition concerns a present situation.

We also selected three Sicilian sentences to be translated into Italian:

- VIII Si cc'è di nesciri sordi, **s' hannu a / da nesciri** (X, 15)
 if there=is of exit.inf. money selves= have to/ from exit.inf.
 'If money has to be spent, it must be spent'
- IX Avvicina nni mia ca t' **aiu a pparlari** (X, 46)
 approach at mine that to-you=I-have to speak.inf.
 'Come and see me because I have to talk to you'
- X To cucinu **av' a bbèniri / avi da vèniri** dumani (X, 40)
 your cousin has to come.inf. has from come.inf. tomorrow
 'Your cousin is going to come tomorrow'

Sentence (VIII) has in both clauses a modal deontic reading, while (IX) has a modal intentional meaning, and in (X) the presence of the adverb *dumani* 'tomorrow' favours a temporal interpretation.

Obviously, we are aware that syntactic questionnaires consisting of input-sentences can produce calques of these original structures. That is why the examples of the periphrasis in answers to input-sentences lacking this structure prove particularly interesting.

3. Data analysis

3.1. Translations from Italian into Sicilian

In this section, we shall consider separately the answers supplied for the various sentences in the questionnaire and shall then compare these with the examples

of the periphrasis in the spontaneous oral speech produced by the informants. Sentence (I), as already observed, has an epistemic modal interpretation, since it introduces a fact whose realization in the past is definite. From the answers supplied by the sample investigated, it turns out that the use of the periphrasis alternates with the simple past, which, given its perfective aspectual feature, already characterizes the event in terms of its accomplishment:

- 1 Pi llavarisi si nn' appi a gghiri fora
for wash.inf.=self self=therefrom= he-had to go.inf. outside
(Ad., high ed., Misilmeri (PA))⁵
- 2 Pi llavàrisi appâ nnésciri fora
for wash.inf.=self he-had-to exit.inf. outside
(C., high ed., Poggioreale (TP))
- 3 Pi llavàrise nisciu fora
for wash.inf.=self he-exited outside
(P., low ed., TP)
- 4 Pi ghirisi a lavari nisci fora
for go.inf.=self to wash.inf. he-exited outside
(P., high. ed., Racalmuto (AG))

In some cases, the informant's first answer contained a simple past; however, after the input was proposed a second time, the sentence was translated using the periphrasis:

- 5 I1: Pi llavàrisi nisciu fuora
for wash.inf.=self he-went outside
R1: dovette uscire fuori
 he-had-to exit.inf. outside
I2: Pi llavàrisi // app' a nniésciri fuora
for wash.inf.=self he-had to exit.inf. outside
(IV Ad., low ed., Pal.)

The translation with the periphrasis tends to be preferred by more educated informants, who use the form as the translation of Italian *dovere*. In other cases, the same highly educated informants, adolescents above all, gave up on the requested task, unable to translate the verb *dovere*, or otherwise they proposed calques of translations not pertaining to the dialect:

- 6 Dovette uscire, dovette? mh non lo so dovette come si ddiçe
he-had-to exit.inf. he-had-to mh not it= I-know he-had-to how self= says
'He had to go out, had to? Hum, I don't know how to say "had to"
(I Ad., high ed., Trap.)

⁵ We indicate in brackets the initials of the member of the family (G. = Grandparent; P. = Parent; C. = Child; Ad. = Adolescent), their level of education (ed.) and their place of residence.

- 7 Per llavarsi // non lo so // do | dovette uscire fuori
 for wash.inf.=self not it=I-know ha... he-had-to exit.inf. outside
 'To wash himself // I don't know // had / had to go out'
 (IVAd., high ed., Pal.)
- 8 Pi llavàrisi **ruvetti** niésciri fuòra
 for wash.inf.=self he-had-to exit.inf. outside
 'To wash himself he had to go outside'
 (II Ad., high ed., Pal.)

The choice between the periphrasis and the simple past displays a different distribution across the island. The answers with the simple past instead of the periphrasis were produced mostly by informants from the province of Agrigento (southern Sicily), while in the provinces of Palermo and Trapani answers oscillated between the use of the two forms, and in the provinces of Messina and Ragusa the use of the periphrasis prevailed. In the central Sicily and, in particular, in the province of Caltanissetta and the inner part of the province of Agrigento, the use of another periphrasis with the impersonal *tuccari* 'to touch' was frequent:

- 9 Pi llavàrisi // cci tuccà nesciri fora
 for wash.inf.=self to-him=it-touched exit.inf. outside
 (C., low ed., Racalmuto (AG))
- 10 Pi llavàrisi // dovette uscire non so come si dice /// no // ci
 for wash.inf.=self he-had-to exit.inf. not I-know how self= says no to-him=
 tuccà nesciri fora
 it-touched exit.inf. outside
 'To wash himself // "had to", I don't know how to say it /// no // it occurred to him to go outside'
 (Ad., high ed., Raffadali (AG))
- 11 Ppi ssi lavari cci tuccà nesciri fora
 for self= wash.inf. to-him= it-touched exit.inf. outside
 (G., low ed., Villalba (CL))

In relation to (II), our informants predominantly employed the periphrasis to mark deontic modality:

- 12 s' ava rrfari u tìettu ccù i canali
 self= it-has-to re-do.inf. the roof with the tiles
 (G., high ed., Mistretta (ME))
- 13 s' annu a ffari arrieri li tìetti cu li canali
 selves= they-have to do.inf. back the roofs with the tiles
 (P., high ed., Racalmuto (AG))
- 14 amu a ffari li tiéttira cu li canala
 we-have to do.inf. the roofs with the tiles
 (C., low ed., Raffadali (AG))

15 avissimu a ffari lu tiettu cu li canali
we-would-have to do.inf. the roof with the tiles
(G., low ed., Poggioreale (TP))

16 Mâ ffari un piaçiri
to-me-you-have-to do.inf. a favour
(P., high ed., Pal.)

17 M' âcattari i càvusi novi
to-me= I-have-to-buy.inf. the trousers new
(G., high ed., Porto Empedocle (AG))

18 Mi vàiu accattu i pantaluna novi
to-me= I-go I-buy the trousers new
'I will go and buy new trousers'

(P., low ed., Realmonte (AG))

Now let us consider the translations supplied for the sentences that in Italian contain a future tense, in order to verify the use of periphrasis also as a temporal marker. Beginning with (V), we note that the informants' answers are divided into those in which a present tense occurs, the majority, those that maintain the use of the future due to a reproduction of the structure given in the input-sentence and, finally, some isolated examples of the *aviri* periphrasis. The use of the future tense generally occurs in the production of younger informants, regardless of their educational level, while the use of the present tense does not depend upon age or other differences, in contrast to the use of the *aviri* periphrasis, which appears in the production of young and old highly educated informants who are all native dialect speakers:

21 U furmentu l' amu a cogghiére rumane
the wheat it= we-have to harvest.inf. tomorrow
(P., high ed., Casteldaccia (PA))

22 U frumintu am' a cogghiri passannu dumani
the wheat we-have to harvest.inf. passing tomorrow
(P., high ed., En.)

23 Chistu si rumpi a iamma
this-one self= breaks the leg
(C., low ed., Vittoria (RG))

24 Talia // chiddu si rumpi a amma
look.imp. that-one self= breaks the leg
(G., low ed., Pal.)

25 Chiddu si sta rumpennu a amma
that-one self= is breaking the leg
(I Ad., low ed., Trap.)

By contrast, older informants of both educational groups who translated with the *aviri* periphrasis added the adverb *sicuramente* 'surely' or expressions like *è sicuro ca* 'it is certain that', giving the sentence a modal value of certainty and not of prediction, as is explicitly noted by the informant in example (28):

- 26 Chiddu s' avi a rumpiri sicuramente a gamba
that-one self= has to break.inf. surely the leg
(P., low ed., En.)
- 27 Sicuru ca chistu s' avi a rrumpiri la ggamba
sure that this-one self= has to break.inf. the leg
(G., high ed., Vittoria (RG))
- 28 Sicuramente che ssi rumpi a amma pirchi in italianu dice si
surely that self= he-breaks the leg because in Italian one-says self=
romperà che è il futuro // chiddu invece cci dona l'affermazione
he-will-break that is the future that-one instead to-it= gives the-affirmation
in sicilianu // chiddu è ssicuru ca s' avi a rrumpiri nna amma
in Sicilian that-one is sure that self= has to break.inf. a leg
“‘Sure(ly) he is going to break his leg’ because in Italian we say “he will break”
which is the future tense // the Sicilian version instead affirms the event / “he is sure
to break his leg””
(G., high ed., Poggioreale (TP))

According to our informants' judgements, if the periphrasis is addressed to somebody other than the speaker, the sentence can acquire the illocutionary force of a threat:

- 29 Chiddu s' avi a stuccà a amma
that-one self= has to break.inf. the leg
(P., low ed., Racalmuto (AG))
- 30 Chiddu // s' ava stuccari na gamma
that-one self= has break.inf. a leg
(Ad., high ed., Raffadali (AG))

This is more clearly shown by the particularly expressive translation of a poorly educated native dialect speaker, who uses the *aviri* periphrasis together with a prospective periphrasis with *venire* 'to come'. In this case the sentence also has the illocutionary force of a threat, and not of a supposition:

- 31 Chiddu s' ava bbeni a rrumpiri a amma
that-one self= has come.inf. to break.inf. the leg
'Why doesn't he break his leg?'
(P., low ed., Pal.)

To convey the suppositional/epistemic value of the future tense of the input-sentence, some informants preferred to use the predicate *fari cuntu ca* 'to suppose' or the aforementioned prospective periphrasis in the lexicalized form *va finisci* 'ends up' in order to connect the dependent clause containing a present tense:

- 32 A secunna l'espressione // si una vede il pericolo e dice: 'chiddu
to according the-expression if one sees the danger and says that-one

- fa cuntu ca si rumpi a jamma'
 makes account that self= breaks the leg
 'Depending on what you want to say, if someone sees a danger and says: "suppose that guy breaks his leg"' (G., high ed., Mistretta (ME))
- 33 Chiddu va ffinisci ca si rumpi a amma
 that-one goes finishes that self= breaks the leg
 'He'll end up breaking his leg' (G., high ed., Misilmeri (PA))

From this perspective, the use of modal adverbials and expressions of certainty in our informants' translations widely confirm what had already been noted by Bentley (1997: 59–60), who maintains that the *aviri* periphrasis marks a modalization of the sentence.

To sum up, translations from Italian into Sicilian show how the periphrasis is mainly employed as an epistemic and deontic modal marker. Furthermore, in our corpus the rare occurrences of the form as a future temporal marker were all produced by native dialect speakers.

3.2. *Translations from Sicilian into Italian*

If we now consider the translations from the dialect sentences in the questionnaire, we observe that (VIII) was translated by most of the informants of all ages and educational types using the modal verbs *dovere* and *bisognare* to express the idea of necessity. Only in a few cases was the periphrasis translated with the present indicative:

- 34 Se c' è di uscire soldi si devono uscire
 if there= is of exit.inf. money selves= must exit.inf.
 (I Ad., low ed., Trap.)
- 35 Se c' è da spendere soldi bisogna spenderli
 if there= is from spend.inf. money it-is-necessary spend.inf.=them
 'If money has to be spent, it must be spent'
 (P., high ed., Pal.)
- 36 Se c' è di uscire soldi si escono
 if there= is of exit.inf. money selves= they-exit
 (G., low ed., Caronia (ME))

Only one highly educated informant translated the periphrasis with the future tense, demonstrating that the form licenses both modal and temporal meanings:

- 37 Se bisogna pagare pagheremo
 if it-is-necessary pay.inf. we-will-pay
 'If we need to pay, we'll pay'
 (P., high ed., En.)

The translation solutions for (IX) are particularly interesting, because they provide proof of the possible interpretation of the *aviri* periphrasis as a form of future – witness the presence of the adverb *dumani* ‘tomorrow’. Nevertheless, nearly all informants translated using the modal *dovere*. Only a few older, highly educated informants employed the future tense:

- 38 Tuo cugino verrà domani
your cousin will-come tomorrow
(G., high ed., Porto Empedocle (AG))

A young, highly educated informant produced a particularly interesting translation by placing *dovere* in the future tense to translate the periphrasis, thereby conferring upon the sentence a temporal value in addition to the deontic modal value:

- 39 Tuo cugino dovrà venire domani
your cousin will-have-to come.inf. tomorrow
(Ad., high ed., Rag.)

Another informant used the conditional, perhaps on account of the presence of the adverb *domani* ‘tomorrow’ in the input-sentence, thus marking the achievement of the event as uncertain:

- 40 Domani dovrebbe venire tuo cugino
tomorrow ought come.inf. your cousin
‘Your cousin might come tomorrow’
(P., high ed., Racalmuto (AG))

The use of the verb *dovere* in the answers given to the last translation question shows how the periphrasis in this sentence was interpreted as the expression of a modality of deontic necessity. Only one older, highly educated informant explained that the sentence, which was initially translated with an intentional meaning using the verb *volere* ‘want’, could also be interpreted as a necessity condition:

- 41 Avvicina / a casa mia/o da me che ti // voglio parlare |
approach.imp.to house my or from me that to-you=I-want speak.inf.
Ti debbo parlare /pure ti debbo parlare
to-you= I-must speak.infalso you=I-must speak.inf.
‘Come close to my house // or to me because // I want to speak to you / I must speak to you / I must also speak to you’
(G., high ed., Poggioreale (TP))

As is already apparent from the data presented in the previous section, the periphrasis is recognized by the whole sample as a deontic modal marker and only by few informants as a temporal marker.

3. 3. *Spontaneous oral data*

Let us now examine the examples of the periphrasis in our corpus of spontaneous oral data. The presence of the form in the Italian production of the older, poorly educated informants was usually due to code-mixing phenomena, so that the periphrasis occurs as a Sicilian insertion in an Italian context:

- 42 <Eh: >pirchi stavano in campagna a lavorare. [/] R. [<mh>]e ognunu eh because they-were in country to work.inf. and each avia a lavorari s' un lavorava un putia mangiare had to work.inf. if not worked not could eat.inf. 'Eh, because they stayed in the fields to work. [/] R. Hum, and everyone had to work, if they didn't work, they couldn't eat'

(G., low ed., Aragona (AG))

- 43 Perché ora ci sono tante cose belle. I ragazzi che vi dovete because now there= are many things lovely the boys that you= you-must sposare ata a ffari una bella festa marry.inf. you-have to do.inf. a nice party 'Because now there are so many lovely things. The boys, you will marry, you have to throw a good party'

(G., low ed., Salemi (TP))

- 44 Sempri puru... iò cci dicu tu n' a ddari a soddisfazioni c' always also I to-him= say you to-us= have give.inf. the satisfaction that a studiari you-have study.inf. 'Always as well... I say to him "you have to give us the satisfaction of studying"'

(G., low ed., Scillato (PA))

Other passages show calques of the Sicilian construction that has been italianized, as in the following example, where the informant corrects herself and then uses the verb *dovere*:

- 45 I miei nipoti s' hanno a sposare uno appresso all' altro [/] the my nephews selves= have to marry.inf. one after to-the other si devono sposare selves= must marry.inf. 'My nephews have to get married one after the other [/] they have to marry'

(G., low ed., Salaparuta (TR))

The examples of the periphrasis in the speech produced by informants with a higher degree of education demonstrate that, if the form has a past reference point, the construction serves to express the certainty of a past event told as it really happened. By contrast, if the form has a present reference point, the use of the periphrasis expresses possibility, necessity or obligation:

- 46 Nenti: l'atra vota parrava cu unu, e un mio | n'atru me amicu
 nothing the-other time I-spoke with one and a my an-other my friend
 s' arricampò, s' intromittiu nnâ discussioni: nenti mi cci sciarriàiu
 self= reached self= intervened in-the discussion nothing me= to-him= I-argued
 ri ccà ri ddà... picchi: unn' è ggiustu chi iddu s' **av' a**
 of here of there because not is just that he self= has to
ntromèttiri nnâ me discussioni
 intervene.inf. in-the my discussion
 'Well... the other time I was speaking with someone, and another friend of mine
 reached us, he interrupted our discussion... well... we quarrelled... because it's not
 right that he should interrupt my discussion'

(Ad., high ed., Misilmeri (PA))

- 47 Eh! u picciriddittu ancora **av' a ccrisciri**. / me mamma diçi chi iddu farà
 eh the little-one still has to grow.inf. my mother says that he will-do
 sicuramente u liceo scientifico. iu cci rissi « a ma' si avi çinc'
 surely the school scientific I to-her= said hey mum if he-has five
 anni chi cciâ **ddiri** ancora? fallu crisciri e ddoppu
 years what to-it-you-have say.inf. still make=him grow.inf. and after
 si nni parla! e idda mi riçi «eh: chistu puru veru è»
 self= of-it= speaks and she to-me= says eh this also true is
 'Hey! The little one still has to grow up! / My mother says that he will surely go to
 sixth-form college. I said to her: "Hey, mum! He's only five years old, what are you
 talking about? Let him grow up first and then we can discuss it! And she says to me
 "yeah, that's right!"'

(C., high ed., Capo d'Orlando (ME))

- 48 <Eh::> me mamma dici « no tu un cci **â ghiri** picchi **â**
 hey my mother says no you not there= have-to go.inf. because you-have
 ghiri a scola **â ghiri a scola** »
 go.inf. to school you-have go.inf. to school
 'Hey, my mum says "no, you don't have to go there because you have to go to
 school, you have to go to school"'

(C., high ed., Scillato (PA))

There are also examples of the periphrasis occurring in the imperfect subjunctive to express epistemic modality:

- 49 Quello denaro chi 'nnaresta in più u mittemu in cassa cusà
 that money that us-remains in more it= we-put in bank thus
 avissimo a fari a chiesa
 we-would-have to do.inf. the church
 'The money left over, we'll save it in case we have to build the church'

(G., low ed., Gibellina (TP))

- 50 Oggi pomeriggio, nenti. Unn' àiu fattu nenti. Avissi a
 today afternoon nothing not I-have done nothing I-would-have to
 sturiàri ma: ancora unn' àiu sturiàtu, picchi mi siddia
 study.inf. but still not I-have studied because me= bothers

'This afternoon, well. I haven't done anything. I ought to study but I haven't studied yet, because I'm fed up'

(Ad., high ed., Termini Imerese (PA))

It is interesting to observe that the periphrasis occurs also in the speech of young, highly educated informants who, during the interview, experienced difficulties in using dialect fluently. For instance, in (51) a young, highly educated informant from Palermo recounts in dialect the plot of a film with a lot of lexical and morpho-syntactic errors, such as the incorrect form of the imperfect *aviri*. Nonetheless, he uses the periphrasis several times to mark deontic modality, giving his speech a Sicilian feel:

- 51 Iddu insieme ô so gruppu ri collaboratori deve andare su st' asteroide
 he together to-the his group of collaborators must go.inf. up this asteroid
 a rruppillu e quindi pàittinu cu na naviçella. prima vengono
 to break.inf.=it and so they-leave with a shuttle first they-come
 addestrati ai vari cosi c'annu a ffàri ddà ncapu e
 trained to-the various things that=they-have to do.inf. there in-head and
 ppoi pòittunu sta naviçella e atterrannu nni st' asteroide [...] peicciò in
 then they-drive this shuttle and land in this asteroid so in
 questa macchina chi ssi pièiddi chi sbatti cc' era puru u fidanzatu
 this car that self= loses that crashes there= was also the boyfriend
 rà figghia ri Bbruss Ullis ca s' avièva a sposari cu sso
 of-the daughter of Bruce Willis who self= had to marry.inf. with his
 figghia quannu avièva a tuinnari
 daughter when he-had to return.inf.

'He together with his staff has to reach an asteroid, destroy it and so they leave with a shuttle. First they are trained for the various things they have to do up there and then they fly this shuttle and land on this asteroid [...] and therefore in this shuttle which gets lost and smashes... there was also Bruce Willis' daughter's boyfriend who had to marry his daughter as soon as he got back'

(Ad., high ed., PA)

However, we did not find any examples of the periphrasis employed with a temporal meaning substituting for the future.

4. Conclusions

The data considered in this chapter show how the productivity of the periphrasis in contemporary Sicilian is confirmed by its use both in the translated sentences and in the passages of spontaneous oral data. With regard to its modal function, we have seen that both the past reference point and the tense form assumed by *aviri* play an important role. In particular, we have observed that the use of the simple past, with its perfective aspectual value, conveys an epistemic meaning about the certainty of the realization of the event in the past. On the other hand, the two imperfective tenses, the present and the imperfect, license a probability,

obligation or necessity interpretation of the periphrasis, although an exhortative reading is also possible if *aviri* occurs in the present or the imperfect subjunctive. In these contexts the function of the periphrasis remains therefore essentially modal. In part, this use of the periphrasis must be seen in relation to the absence of a verb equivalent to Italian *dovere* in the verbal system of contemporary Sicilian.

One reason for the reduced use of the periphrasis as an expression of future tense is that in Sicilian, as in informal Italian speech, the future is generally and most readily expressed by the present tense. Now, although our data have revealed a much reduced role of the periphrasis in the expression of a temporal meaning, the examples where such a reading does occur allow us to conclude that contemporary Sicilian does not figure among the so-called 'futureless' languages whose temporal system is based upon the opposition [\pm past] and that use the present for the expression of the future (cf. Ultan 1978). That said, given that the use of the periphrasis with a temporal meaning is chosen only by highly competent and fluent dialect speakers, this may actually point to a weakening of this form in view of the general decline of dialect as a native language. This is also confirmed by the fact that less competent dialect speakers only employ the periphrasis for the modal domains of certainty, obligation and the illocutionary force of exhortation and request. Consequently, contemporary Sicilian is gradually losing not only the synthetic form of the future but also the periphrasis in this same temporal function.

9 A formal typology of person-based auxiliary selection in Italo-Romance

Géraldine Legendre

1. Introduction

In many Italo-Romance dialects auxiliary selection in periphrastic past tenses is based on person and number.¹ One particular pattern, 1st/2nd persons: E(SSE) ‘be’ vs 3rd person: H(ABERE) ‘have’, independently of number, is found in a number of dialects, including Aquilano (see Table 9.1, and Tuttle 1986). Identified as the ‘typical person-based pattern’ in Italo-Romance, it has received attention in the generative literature (e.g. Kayne 1993; D’Alessandro and Roberts to appear). Much less discussed in the generative literature, with the notable exception of Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007), are the myriad patterns that depart from the ‘typical’ one. These include the eight types listed in Table 9.1, revealing a continuum ranging from selecting E in all person/number combinations (Terracina) to selecting H across the board (Valle d’Orte).

Table 9.1 in fact under-represents the variation that exists, inasmuch as it abstracts away from additional factors like verb class (unaccusative vs unergative), tense and mood (present vs past perfect) and free variation, as well as sociolinguistic factors (for details, see Cennamo 2001; 2008; Ledgeway 2000; Manzini and Savoia 2005; 2007; Loporcaro 2007). Nonetheless, a distribution even as small as the one in Table 9.1 provides a challenge to any attempt at characterizing person-based auxiliary selection in terms of a formal approach with any predictive power. Not surprisingly, the analyses proposed for the ‘typical’ person-based distribution are tailored to that pattern and do not lend themselves at all to the kind of parameterization that is needed to handle the range of variation exhibited in Table 9.1.²

¹ Many thanks to the audience at the *First Cambridge Italian Dialect Syntax Meeting* and to the anonymous reviewers for their comments and criticisms, to Francesco-Alessio Ursini for collecting and sharing information about Abruzzese dialects, to Bob Frank for some technical discussions and to Paul Smolensky for his tutelage in the use of OTSoft. I alone am responsible for any remaining defects in this chapter.

² For example, Kayne (1993) proposes that the selection of HAVE in Romance and Germanic is derived from a structure headed by copula BE with incorporation of an abstract preposition D/P

Table 9.1 *A subset of attested Italo-Romance dialects (Giammarco 1973; Tuttle 1986)*

	Terracina (LT)	Cori (LT)	L'Aquila	Giovinazzo (BA)	Notaresco (TE)	Introdacqua (AQ)	Pompei (NA)	Valle d'Orte (PE)
1sg.	E	E	E	E	E	H	H	H
2sg.	E	E	E	E	H	E	H	H
3sg.	E	E	H	H	H	H	E	H
1pl.	E	E	E	H	H	H	H	H
2pl.	E	E	E	H	H	H	H	H
3pl.	E	H	H	H	H	H	H	H

The purpose of this chapter is to take up this challenge and propose a *preliminary* formal typology that both accounts for the patterns in Table 9.1 and predicts the existence of further patterns, a good number of which are attested on the basis of available descriptions. The formal typology in question is of the sort Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky [1993] 2004) yields by virtue of its very architecture. Briefly, restrictions on mapping, say, a certain ϕ -feature to a particular auxiliary (H or E) or syntactic configuration are formulated as universal yet violable constraints. A formal typology arises from freely re-ranking these constraints comprising – in the version discussed here – a predicted set of twenty-seven patterns/dialects. This result should, however,

(into BE). In the absence of an abstract preposition, no incorporation takes place and auxiliary BE obtains. The 'typical' pattern of a person-based split auxiliary selection involves the strength of features associated with AgrS and movement of DP through its Spec. Strong features associated with AgrS are activated by a 1st/2nd person subject DP passing through its Spec. AgrS raises to D/P and converts SpecDP into an A-position. The subject DP moves through SpecDP onto SpecBE. D/P is not required to incorporate into BE and 1st/2nd person subjects consequently select BE. Features of AgrS remain weak if a 3rd person subject DP passes through its Spec. SpecDP remains an A-bar position and incorporation of D/P to BE must apply, yielding HAVE. On the one hand, Kayne's analysis in terms of feature strength is too restrictive. By definition, it cannot handle anything like a reverse pattern. On the other, his analysis is quite underdetermined: if the distinctions on which the analysis rests are technically a set of eight binary parameters (1. unaccusative vs unergative; 2. D/P vs no D/P; 3. T vs no T; 4. AgrS vs no AgrS; 5. incorporation of D/P to BE vs no incorporation; 6. raising of AgrS vs no raising; 7. strong vs weak person features (1,2= strong/E vs 3=weak/H); 8. raising to T vs no raising), then Kayne's analysis predicts $2^8 = 256$ parameter settings or dialects. A similar critique applies to Ledgeway's (2000) analysis in terms of feature strength. Manzini and Savoia (2007) reject the basic derivational approach of Kayne and propose instead that Aux + PtP structures are ordinary cases of embedding a non-finite sentence under a main verb. They seek to account for person-based patterns, including those tackled in the present chapter, using a number of parameters such as the presence or absence of restructuring entering the computation of unaccusativity (Carmiano (LE) selecting H vs Pescolanciano (IS) selecting E), the presence or absence of an interpretive unaccusativity constraint alongside syntactic transitivity, a distinction as to what person counts as discourse-anchored vs event-anchored in a given dialect, and pragmatic salience (as in Vastogirardi (IS)). What is missing is an explicit statement of the factorial typology that results from combining these parameters, allowing a fuller comparison with the model proposed in the present chapter.

be interpreted with caution. The claim is not that twenty-seven is the definitive number of relevant Italo-Romance dialects, nor is it that only twenty-seven dialects can be predicted to exist by OT, nor that twenty-seven dialects instantiating the typology are actually attested at this preliminary stage of our enquiry. Rather, it is to motivate the basic components of such an analysis, test it against a reasonable sample of attested dialects and draw some conclusions.

The present proposal embodies the claim that the choice of auxiliary is *principled* in person-based systems. The proposed factorial typology comprises fewer than half the number of person-number combinations predicted if person-based auxiliary selection were not constrained – given two auxiliaries and six person-number combinations, a total of 2^6 or 64 possible patterns/dialects would be expected.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 establishes the validity of the general enterprise on the basis of a lack of correlation between auxiliary selection and past participle agreement. Such correlations are the cornerstone of parameter-based approaches. Their absence reveals the independence of the phenomenon of auxiliary selection across dialects, which in turn motivates a typological approach. Section 3 discusses the restrictive nature of Optimality-Theoretic typologies and introduces a specific proposal for auxiliary selection in Italo-Romance. Section 4 offers some concluding remarks.

2. Why a formal typological approach is necessary

The hallmark of the parameter-based approach to generative syntax is its strong deductive structure, whereby a single parameter is ideally invoked to predict a number of correlated, but otherwise unrelated, patterns. From this perspective, auxiliary selection in Romance has been routinely correlated with past participle agreement, and numerous analyses have been designed to capture the very existence of such correlations (e.g. Lois 1990). The problem is that once the net is cast a bit wider than the standard languages, no such correlations survive. This is true for languages with a split (regardless of its basis), as well as for languages without, as shown in Table 9.2. The latter lists examples of varieties within and outside Romance that do or do not exhibit a particular type of auxiliary selection (split vs no split, person-based split vs verb class split vs combination of the two). Auxiliary selection is placed in parallel with the agreement pattern observed in the presence of an auxiliary, with the surface subject, object (transitive verbs), with or without restrictions, as well as complete absence of agreement. Roughly speaking, all possible combinations are documented.

The following conclusion, independently reached in Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007), is inevitable: auxiliary selection and past participle agreement are independent properties of a given language/dialect. In our terms, the task of

Table 9.2 *Auxiliary selection vs past participle agreement*

Language/dialect and source	Auxiliary selection	Agreement
Piglio (FR; Bentley 2003)	person split	with subject with H and E
Lazio (Rohlf's 1969); Gerona Catalan (Badia i Margarit 1962)	person split	none with either H or E
Eastern Abruzzese (D'Alessandro and Roberts in press)	person split	with subject or object
French, Italian	verb class split	with subject with E
German	verb class split	none with either H or E
Introdacqua; Old Neapolitan (Cennamo 2008)	verb class split	with subject with H and E
Cremonese (Rossini 1975)	verb class split	none with E
Old Italian, Occitan	verb class split	with object with H
Soazza (Tessin) (Manzini and Savoia 2007)		with subject with E (non-reflexives) and with subject with H (reflexives)
Sonnino (LT; Manzini and Savoia 2005)	person and verb class split	with subject with E
Genzano di Roma (Bentley 2003)	person and verb class split	with subject with H and E
Montebello Ionico (RC; Manzini and Savoia 2007)	free variation H/E	none
Bulgarian	E only	with subject
Terracina (Tuttle 1986); Shetland English (Robertson and Graham 1991)	E only	none
Balearic, Valenciano Catalan (Badia i Margarit 1962)	H only	with object
Carmiano (LE; Manzini and Savoia 2007)		with subject and object
Calabrian (Pace 1993–4)	H only	with subject
Spanish, Walloon, Calascibetta (EN; Manzini and Savoia 2005)	H only	none

a formal approach to auxiliary selection consists therefore in determining the space of possible auxiliary selection systems.

The validity of the typological approach is confirmed by the existence of pattern *reversals* across the range of Italo-Romance dialects. Not only are there dialects in which E is found in 1st, 2nd person and H in 3rd person (the 'typical' pattern), but the reverse is also found. Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2007) discuss dialects that display variants of the reversal pattern (H in 1st, 2nd person and E in 3rd), including HHEHHH for Aliano (MT) unaccusatives, HEEHHE for Capracotta (IS) unergatives/transitives and HEHEEE for Vastogirardi (IS) unergatives/transitives. Varieties of Salentino also show a preference for E in the

3rd person (Bentley and Eythórsson 2001). Manzini and Savoia (2007) point out that person-based variation is typically found only in the present perfect (see also D'Alessandro and Ledgeway this volume, §4). In the past perfect and counterfactual a single auxiliary is typically selected, but it may be *H* or *E*, depending on the dialect. Manzini and Savoia (2007: 215–16) also report that a single dialect may select one auxiliary (*E*) in the past perfect and the other (*H*) in the counterfactual (e.g. Pescocostanzo (AQ)), showing that auxiliary selection is independent of tense or mood. As reported in Ledgeway (2003a; see also McFadden 2007), *H* is favoured over *E* with irrealis mood in some Italian dialects (e.g. Early Neapolitan), but the reverse obtains in Romanian (Avram and Hill 2007). A few Italian dialects do show the same person-based split across tenses and moods, including S. Benedetto (CE) and Capracotta, as well as free alternation (e.g. Castelvechio Subequo (AQ)). All together, this distribution points to the independence of auxiliary selection and particular tenses and moods, and highlights the need to tackle the complex and striking person-based pattern in the present perfect as a circumscribable problem.³

D'Alessandro and Roberts (to appear) focus on the 'typical' pattern illustrated by Eastern Abruzzese (EEHEEH). They propose an analysis grounded in the technical mechanisms of Agree within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2001; 2005). Specifically, they posit that v_{Aux} has unvalued Person features in Eastern Abruzzese (but not in Standard Italian); Agree between the subject bearing the Person-Number feature combination [1sg.] and Aux takes place and values the subject's Case feature. Aux is realized as *E* post-syntactically. When the subject is 3rd person, v_{Aux} is assumed to lack Person and, by implication, Number features. The subject bearing a Number feature agrees with T (which has an uninterpretable Number feature), resulting in the Case feature of the subject being valued. Aux is realized as *H* (because the subject agrees with T rather than v_{Aux}). Their analysis predicts that *E* cannot appear with a 3rd person subject because the latter has no Person feature; as a result, the Person feature on v_{Aux} cannot be valued, and the derivation crashes. Obviously, this analysis cannot account for the existence of dialects (several of which are listed in Table 9.1) that select *E* in the 3rd person.

D'Alessandro and Roberts (to appear) relate the Eastern Abruzzese pattern to split ergative case/agreement systems. Split ergative systems follow the so-called animacy hierarchy in (1), where the 1st/2nd/3rd part of the hierarchy is understood to refer to pronouns/agreement markers (Silverstein 1976):

³ What the tense and mood distribution ultimately bears on may be the precise formulation of the relevant constraints, whether they should be stated in terms of abstract features like [+/-local], [+/-speaker], [+/-hearer], as proposed in this chapter, or in terms of definite (or existentially quantified) vs indefinite (or generically/universally quantified) specifications, as suggested in Manzini and Savoia (2007: 217). Since the main point of the present chapter concerns the validity of the proposed general approach to typology, I leave this issue for future consideration.

←nominative/accusative ergative/absolutive→
1st > 2nd > 3rd > proper nouns/kin terms > human > animate > inanimate

Finally, D'Alessandro and Roberts want to relate person-based auxiliary selection to the pro-drop parameter to explain the absence of person-based auxiliary selection in Germanic languages. They propose that pro is licensed by an interpretable D-feature on the head bearing unvalued ϕ -features (e.g. v_{Aux}), regardless of whether this head bears unvalued Person features (Eastern Abruzzese) or not (Standard Italian). Germanic T/ v_{Aux} does not have an interpretable D-feature. The analysis raises the following questions: (a) What then licenses v_{Aux} in Germanic? (b) Why does v_{Aux} need an interpretable feature in the first place? How this analysis differs from the statement of the generalization that the analysis is intended to explain – namely, that pro-drop languages allow person-based split auxiliary selection, whereas non-pro-drop languages do not – is therefore unclear. The analysis proposed in the present chapter does not attempt to capture this (presumably correct) generalization, but focuses on the problem of characterizing the space of possible person-based split systems. At least one proposal exists in OT for characterizing some generalizations related to the pro-drop parameter (Samek-Lodovici 1996); it is assumed that the generalization discussed by D'Alessandro and Roberts could be handled along the same lines, although space considerations preclude us from considering the issue further here.

3.1. The empirical challenge

Among the empirical patterns that a comprehensive analysis of person-based auxiliary selection must minimally account for are the following:⁴

⁴ An interesting generalization not discussed here is the fact that main verb uses of *have* and *be* show person-driven based selection, while passive *be* is reportedly insensitive to person (Manzini and Savoia 2005). This points to syntactic effects tied to passive that are independent of the basic argument structure issues raised by the unaccusative/unergative class distinction and main verb *have/be*.

- 2 a The patterns exemplified by Terracina (only E) and Valle d'Orte (only H) are not unusual from a universal perspective. The latter is shared by other Romance languages (e.g. Spanish). The former is the only pattern found in South Slavic languages.
- b Some dialects solely display person-based splits that differentiate discourse participants (1st and 2nd person) from non-discourse participants (3rd person), irrespective of number, namely, the so-called 'typical' EEH pattern in Italo-Romance. Yet person-based splits do not necessarily pattern that way: for example, Notaresco 2nd person patterns with 3rd person, selecting H. Pompei shows the reverse pattern of the 'typical' discourse participant-based one in the singular (Cennamo 2001): 1st H, 2nd H, 3rd E (see Table 9.1).
- c Some dialects display different patterns of person-based splits depending on verb class. For example, Popoli (PE) unaccusatives follow the singular pattern EEH, but unergatives/transitives follow the pattern EEE. In addition, Popoli unergatives/transitives follow the HHH pattern in the plural (Manzini and Savoia 2005).⁵
- d Some, but not all, dialects allow free auxiliary variation (e.g. Altamura (BA)). This shows that the overall pattern cannot be reduced to a three-way distribution (H, E or H/E), contra Loporcaro (2007).

Given space considerations, the present analysis will focus on (2a) and (2b), assumed to be prior to (2c) and (2d). With regard to (2c), the typological approach pursued in this chapter builds on analyses of basic patterns of auxiliary selection cross-linguistically in terms of a mapping between eventive features and a particular auxiliary/syntactic configuration (for details, see Sorace 2000; Legendre and Sorace 2003; Legendre 2007a, b). Its original motivation stems from the desire to handle cross-linguistic mismatches in auxiliary selection (e.g. Italian vs French vs Dutch vs Spanish vs South Slavic) that prove problematic for a simple characterization of auxiliary selection in terms of the unergative/unaccusative distinction (Perlmutter 1978; Burzio 1986) and obscures the overlapping semantic basis of the split wherever available. With regard to (2d), free variation documented in a number of studies of variation (dialectal, developmental, etc.) reduces to partial (as opposed to total) constraint ranking and constitutes OT's formal characterization of the concept of 'multiple grammars' available to a speaker or a community of speakers (for detailed proposals, see Antilla 1997; Nagy and Reynolds 1997; Legendre, Hagstrom, Vainikka and Todorova 2002).

Finally, the sensitivity of numerous canonical syntactic phenomena to person and number – split case, voice and agreement systems, as well as split

⁵ The reverse pattern has not been identified; whether this is merely a sampling accident remains to be seen. An even more complex pattern is revealed in a corpus of five Abruzzese dialects collected by Francesco-Alessio Ursini (p.c.).

null-subject languages (e.g. Finnish, Hebrew) and quirky subjects in Icelandic, to name just a few – argues against relegating the person-based component of auxiliary selection to the morphology (e.g. Gaylord 2006) or to lexical idiosyncrasy. However, the challenge of person/number-based auxiliary selection is that, contrary to these other syntactic phenomena, it is not grounded in the simpler person hierarchy (e.g. 1st > 2nd > 3rd) familiar from the typological-functional literature (e.g. Keenan and Comrie 1977; Silverstein 1976). To describe the patterns in Table 9.1, it is in fact necessary to decompose person into three features referred to below in terms of the ϕ -features: +/- speaker (+ = 1st person), +/- local (+ = discourse participants) and +/- hearer (+ = 2nd person).

3.2. *Deriving universal constraints by harmonic alignment*

OT is a formal theory of typology (see, among others, Prince and Smolensky [1993] 2004; Legendre, Grimshaw and Vikner 2001) that exploits the idea that particular mappings between person features and auxiliary are favoured but not inviolable, and can through constraint re-ranking return an exact typology that may be tested against a sample of Romance dialects. Syntactic distributions that are sensitive to hierarchies (of any sort) capture markedness relations (Jakobson [1965] 1995), a concept that OT formalizes in terms of *harmonic alignment*. Given two abstract scales (e.g. a person scale and some other scale), harmonic alignment determines marked and unmarked mappings across two scales and corresponding constraints (cf. Prince and Smolensky [1993] 2004; Artstein 1999; Aissen 2001; Legendre 2007a). Should the constraints pertaining to auxiliary selection map ϕ -features directly onto H/E or a syntactic configuration, say external vs internal argument (to remain neutral about implementation)? Given that auxiliary selection is considered in isolation of other phenomena in the present discussion, the question is moot, and I proceed by simply using an auxiliary scale assumed to be mapped onto the internal vs external argument scale familiar from the typological literature (subject > object or A > E).⁶

It is easy to demonstrate that harmonic alignment involving a simple pairing of person and auxiliary is not sufficient to handle person-based auxiliary selection in Italo-Romance. Consider the two scales (3a) and (3b) and the derived harmonic alignments in (3c). H-alignments, for example, read as follows: the pairing of H with 1st person is less marked (more harmonic) than

⁶ See Legendre (2007b) for further discussion of this issue. It is argued that, from a general typological perspective that encompasses reflexives and passives, it is necessary for the mapping constraints to refer directly to syntactic configurations.

the pairing of H with 2nd person, which in turn is less marked than the pairing of H with 3rd person.

- 3 a Person scale: Local > 3 (Aissen 2001)
 b Auxiliary scale: H > E (Legendre 2007a)
 c Harmonic alignments: H/1 > H/2 > H/3 and E/3 > E/2 > E/1

The alignments in (3c) entail that 2nd person has to pattern with 1st or 3rd, or both. It is impossible for 1st and 3rd to pattern together and 2nd differently. However, such a pattern exists (see, for example, Introdacqua in Table 9.1). What is needed is a featural decomposition of person, using at least four ϕ -features (three for person: +/- local (discourse participant), +/- speaker, +/- hearer, and one for number), as shown in Table 9.3. The abstract scales entering harmonic alignments directly reference these ϕ -features, as shown in (4). They are mapped onto the auxiliary scale (H > E) in (3b), resulting in the harmonic alignments stated in Table 9.4.

- 4 ϕ -feature-based scales
 Person: -local > +local
 +speaker > -speaker
 +hearer > -hearer
 Number: -singular > +singular

The scales themselves are abstract and independently motivated only to the extent that they appear in the conditioning of multiple syntactic phenomena. For example, the scales in (3a–b) are motivated in studies of case and voice systems (cf. 3a) and verb class-based auxiliary selection (cf. 3b). Modelled on existing scales, (4a–b) are hypothesized to underlie person-based auxiliary selection

Table 9.3 *Featural decomposition of person*

Person	Local	Speaker	Hearer
1st	+	+	–
2nd	+	–	+
3rd	–	–	–

Table 9.4 *Harmonic alignments (markedness relations)*

Aux/local	Aux/speaker	Aux/hearer	Aux/number
H/– LOC > E/– LOC	H/+ SPK > E/+ SPK	H/+ HR > E/+ HR	H/– SG > E/– SG
E/+ LOC > H/+ LOC	E/– SPK > H/– SPK	E/– HR > H/– HR	E/+ SG > H/+ SG

pending confirmation that they are relevant to other (morpho-)syntactic phenomena.

These abstract scales are needed to formulate marked mappings across them; they do not themselves follow from deep principles. That is, [-local] is not inherently more marked than [+local]; [-local] is only higher on an abstract scale than [+local]. What is crucial, and needs to be incorporated into the grammar, is the claim that selecting a particular auxiliary given a particular feature value is more marked than selecting the other auxiliary. In other words, markedness is a relation, and deriving constraints via harmonic alignment is advantageous because it enables us to incorporate effects of hierarchies into the grammar by excluding marked options in favour of less marked ones. To achieve that, it is necessary to posit abstract scales like (4). Nothing further is stipulated in the analysis of person-based auxiliary selection.

- 5 a H/- LOC \succ E/- LOC 'The mapping of [-LOC] to H is more harmonic/less marked than the mapping of [-LOC] to E'
 b E/+LOC \succ H/+LOC 'The mapping of [+LOC] to E is more harmonic/less marked than the mapping of [+LOC] to H'
 c etc.

Note the change of symbol from ' \succ ' 'higher on a scale' to ' \succ ' (more harmonic/less marked) in the harmonic alignments. Such alignments automatically yield a hierarchy of constraints once their polarity is reversed, as indicated in Table 9.5 – note the change in symbol from ' \succ ' to ' \gg ' (outranks). The formal procedure of harmonic alignment generates universal constraints that in fact target both marked as well as unmarked mappings. For the present discussion of auxiliary selection, it suffices to focus on the marked mappings and dominating constraints in the constraint pairs in Table 9.5. The dominated constraints that target unmarked mappings are indicated in parentheses and ignored in the analysis below because they do not affect the outcome. The dominating constraints are the ones that can freely re-rank with respect to one another.

- 6 a *E/- LOC \gg (*H/- LOC) 'An argument of a [-LOC] event is not mapped to E' outranks 'An argument of a [-LOC] event is not mapped to H'
 b *H/+ LOC \gg (*E/+ LOC) 'An argument of a [+LOC] event is not mapped to H' outranks 'An argument of a [+LOC] event is not mapped to E'
 c etc.

Table 9.5 *Constraints*

*E/- LOC \gg (*H/- LOC)	*E/+ SPK \gg (*H/+ SPK)	*E/+ HR \gg (*H/+ HR)	*E/- SG \gg (*H/- SG)
*H/+LOC \gg (*E/+ LOC)	*H/- SPK \gg (*E/- SPK)	*H/- HR \gg (*E/- HR)	*H/+ SG \gg (*E/+ SG)

Table 9.6 *Auxiliary favoured by each constraint*

	*H/+LOC	*H/-SPK	*H/-HR	*H/+SG	*E/-LOC	*E/+SP	*E/+HR	*E/-SG
1sg.	E		E	E		H		
2sg.	E	E		E			H	
3sg.		E	E	E	H			
1pl.	E		E			H		H
2pl.	E	E					H	H
3pl.		E	E		H			H

The universal constraints on mapping ϕ -features to H or E express favoured choices of auxiliary for individual ϕ -features. The fact that these constraints are violable automatically results in H/E splits. The inherent violability of the universal constraints derived from harmonic alignment is made explicit in Table 9.6. For each person/number combination, either auxiliary violates at least one constraint (contra, among others, Kayne 1993; Loporcaro 2007; Manzini and Savoia 2007). Constraints are re-rankable, with the consequence that each person/number combination has, for example, a chance at E in some dialect, and similarly for H. This is necessary, because across all dialects it is possible for any person/number combination to select H or E (see Tables 9.1 and 9.7). Which auxiliary is selected by each person in each dialect is a consequence of the relative ranking of the constraints in Table 9.6. For example, if *H/+LOC outranks *E/+HR, 2nd person selects H, not E; the lower-ranked constraint (*E/+HR) is violated without affecting the outcome. If the ranking is reverse, the opposite pattern is predicted.

3.3. *A factorial typology of person-based auxiliary selection*

OT relies on *factorial typology* to explain cross-linguistic variation. To propose a constraint ranking for one language/dialect in OT is to claim that all possible re-rankings of the constraints yield all and only the possible human languages.⁷ Using software made available in Hayes, Tesar and Zuraw (2003), a factorial typology was determined using the eight constraints in Table 9.6 and tested

⁷ The number of possible languages should not be confused with the number of possible re-rankings. As many studies have demonstrated, the number of possible languages is always much smaller than the number of possible re-rankings obtained with a given set of constraints. To take only one example, the study of case systems in Legendre, Raymond and Smolensky (1993) involves a set of eight constraints resulting in about 40,000 rankings, but only thirteen possible languages (see also Samek-Lodovici 2001). In other words, many re-rankings may yield one and the same pattern or language.

Table 9.7 *Factorial typology of attested varieties*

	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5	L6	L7	L8	L9	L10	L11	L12	L13	L14
1sg.	H	H	H	H	H	H	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
2sg.	H	H	E	E	E	E	H	H	H	E	E	E	E	E
3sg.	H	E	H	H	E	E	H	H	E	H	H	E	E	E
1pl.	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	E	H	H	E	H	E	E
2pl.	H	H	H	E	H	H	H	H	H	H	E	H	E	E
3pl.	H	H	H	H	E	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	E

Table 9.8 *Factorial typology of predicted additional varieties*

	L15	L16	L17	L18	L19	L20	L21	L22	L23	L24	L25	L26	L27
1sg.	H	H	H	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
2sg.	H	E	E	H	H	H	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
3sg.	E	E	E	E	E	E	H	H	E	E	E	E	E
1pl.	H	H	H	H	E	E	H	E	H	H	H	E	E
2pl.	H	E	E	H	H	H	E	H	H	E	E	H	H
3pl.	E	H	E	E	H	E	H	H	E	H	E	H	E

against attested dialects. Note that the eight constraints are parallel (for every $*H/+feature_x$ there is an opposite constraint $*E/-feature_x$) and exhaustive (all features determine two constraints). Attempts at using fewer features or flipping the value of particular features resulted in various smaller typologies, none of which came closer to accounting for existing dialects; hence they are not discussed here further.

The eight constraints in Table 9.6 determine a set of twenty-seven possible auxiliary selection patterns, which compares favourably with a predicted total of sixty-four (2^6 : two auxiliaries; six person-number combinations) if person-based auxiliary selection were not constrained at all. The typology derived from harmonic alignment constraints includes the fourteen attested patterns in Table 9.7 and thirteen more in Table 9.8 yet to be attested. In some cases, the relevant attested pattern occurs only with a subclass of verbs, e.g. unergatives/unaccusatives (L2, L9, L12, etc.), or even with a subclass of verbs in a particular register (e.g. L6 is exemplified by Working Class (WC) Pompei unaccusatives according to Cennamo (2008)). The list below in note 8 is only a sample of the dialects that exemplify a particular pattern. It is not intended to be exhaustive.⁸

⁸ L1: Valle d'Orte (Tuttle 1986); L2: Aliano unaccusatives (Manzini and Savoia 2005); L3: Introdocqua, Bisceglie (BA; Loporcaro 2007); L4: Canosa Sannita (CH; Roberta D'Alessandro

Table 9.9 *Preference by person-number combination across seventeen attested varieties*

E favoured by	H favoured by	No preference
2sg. (12/17)	1pl. (10/17)	1sg. (9/17: E)
	2pl. (10/17)	
	3pl. (13/17)	3sg. (9/17: H)

While the predicted, but not yet attested, varieties may turn out to be a sampling accident, the factorial typology resulting in the twenty-seven dialects displayed in Tables 9.7 and 9.8 turns out to be too restrictive, because it fails to generate a few attested varieties, including Advanced Lanciano (CH)/Arielli (HEHEEH, Roberta d'Alessandro p.c.), Vastogirardi (H-EE-HEEE, Manzini and Savoia 2005) and Morcone (EEHEEE, a Campanian pattern characterized as rare in Manzini and Savoia 2005). Hence it should be viewed as a preliminary typology only.

A characteristic of the typology in Tables 9.7 and 9.8 is its reliance on constraints referring to ϕ -features that are completely independent of one another. In particular, number is assumed not to interact with person at all. However, a review of the total sample of seventeen attested dialects reveals that an asymmetry, namely plural, but not singular, favours H (see Table 9.9).

Table 9.9 reveals several generalizations that unfortunately are only as good as the sample is representative of Italo-Romance variation. In other words, a revised typology must await confirmation that: (a) 1sg. does not show a preference for E contrary to what is assumed by any analysis that takes discourse participants to be special, including the preliminary typology proposed here and in Manzini and Savoia (2007); (b) only 2sg. shows a preference for E; (c) plural shows a preference for H. Furthermore, the seventeen attested dialects discussed above show that each possible combination ($2^3 = 8$) is attested in the singular, but only a subset is attested in the plural; not attested are HEE and EHE, putting the upper typological bound at forty-eight patterns/dialects (eight patterns in the singular times six patterns in the plural) if all features are independent of one another. If these empirical generalizations are confirmed by further investigation, then it is conceivable that (a) some feature should be eliminated or added, and (b) some constraints should refer to a *combination* of number plus some other ϕ -feature. Such combinations would support three-way

p.c.); L5: Capracotta (Manzini and Savoia 2007); L6: Variety of Vasto (CH; Giammarco 1973), WC Pompei unaccusatives (Cennamo 2008); L7: Notaresco (Giammarco 1973); L8: Gerona Catalan (Badia i Margarit 1962); L9: Gioia unergatives (Loporcaro 2007); L10: Giovinazzo (Loporcaro 2007); L11: Acquafondata (FR), L'Aquila, Piglio; L12: Gioia unaccusatives (Loporcaro 2007); L13: Cori (Tuttle 1986); L14: Terracina (Tuttle 1986).

harmonic alignment or alignment across three scales, which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been proposed elsewhere. This would not, however, invalidate the overall approach advocated here, but only refine its empirical coverage.

There remains the question of combined person and verb class splits such as the patterns L2, L9 and L12: Aliano unaccusatives, Gioia unergatives and Gioia unaccusatives, respectively. The full analysis of these patterns involves incorporating in the ranking of person-based constraints a set of lexico-aspectual constraints motivated independently for languages like Italian and French. As discussed in Legendre (2007a), the French pattern is in a subset relation to the Italian pattern, in the sense that only a subset of unaccusatives (verbs denoting change of location and a subset of verbs denoting change of state) select E. The overall distribution cannot therefore be stated for French simply in terms of the unergative/unaccusative distinction. See Legendre (2007a) for evidence that lexico-aspectual constraints are best equipped to capture auxiliary selection across a wide spectrum of languages. The intermingling of person-based and lexico-aspectual constraints has the effect of creating a cut-off point. Dialects like Pietransieri (AQ), which further combine person/number and verb class with some free variation (*work*: EEHHHH vs *go*: EEEE/HE/HE/H; Loporcaro 2007), exploit the fact that the constraint ranking is not necessarily fixed (see discussion in (1e)). In other words, a given speaker may have several grammars, which independently must be the case if they also speak Standard Italian. Working out the details of the analysis of any dialect, however, requires a full description of auxiliary selection for all verb classes of the type discussed in Sorace (2000) Legendre and Sorace (2003) and Legendre (2007a).

4. Conclusion

The overarching conclusion of the present discussion is that some generalizations are inherently typological. Auxiliary selection is one of them, whether it is based on person/number features (the focus of this chapter) or on lexico-semantic features as discussed in prior work (e.g. Legendre 2007a). Across Italo-Romance dialects there simply does not seem to be any evidence for the kind of syntactic generalization embraced by the principle-and-parameter approach, namely the co-variation of person-based selection with one or more unrelated phenomena that can be shown to arise from a single representation where abstract structure and movement come for free. Does that mean that person-based auxiliary selection is just random and of no further consequence for syntacticians? Such a conclusion is surely premature in light of the present discussion, as well as the reported contrast between passives (insensitive to person-based selection) vs main verb *be/have* (Manzini and Savoia 2005). If at least some generalizations are inherently typological, then a formal theory

of typology like OT, which can also handle both co-variation of unrelated phenomena as well as of related phenomena (Legendre, Grimshaw and Vikner 2001), is called for. A particular approach grounded in OT is being put forth here, whereby person-number-based auxiliary selection in Romance (as well as standard auxiliary selection cross-linguistically) involves implicational relations best construed as conflicting lexicon-syntax mappings, resolved by dialect-particular constraint rankings.

10 The Abruzzese T-v system: feature spreading and the double auxiliary construction

Roberta D'Alessandro and Adam Ledgeway

1. Introduction

In this chapter we shall examine a peculiar auxiliary construction found in the Eastern Abruzzese dialect of Arielli (CH) spoken in upper southern Italy.¹ The construction in question concerns the formation of the pluperfect, which, from a Romance typological perspective, proves quite remarkable in this dialect, in that it involves the use of two finite auxiliaries in conjunction with the past participle, as illustrated in (1):

- | | | | |
|---|----------------|-----------------|---------|
| 1 | So' | 'vé | parlate |
| | BE.1sg. | HAVE.past.impf. | spoken |
| | 'I had spoken' | | |

The pluperfect is thus formed in this dialect, at least in the 1st and 2nd persons, by combining a present tense form of auxiliary BE and a past tense form of auxiliary HAVE with the participle, giving rise to what we shall refer to as the double auxiliary construction (henceforth DAC). As we shall see, this construction raises a number of significant questions, including, for example: (i) why there is an asymmetry in auxiliary selection between the higher and lower auxiliaries, the latter auxiliary invariably surfacing as HAVE, apparently insensitive to the person-driven HAVE–BE split operative in the higher auxiliary; and (ii) whether feature-bundles are uniformly arranged on functional heads across languages. In considering these questions, we shall investigate the properties of the T-v system in Ariellese, where the evidence of the DAC can be profitably interpreted to throw light on the nature of auxiliary selection and feature spreading, which come together in an interesting and illuminating way in this dialect. Finally, it is worth noting how the Ariellese DAC provides potentially important clues as to the origins of similar southern Italian verbal forms: from a diachronic perspective, the Ariellese DAC might be taken to represent a conservative stage

¹ This work is partially supported by the EU Marie Curie Award Nr 006833 (*AbrSyn*) under Framework 6 to D'Alessandro.

in an original dual auxiliary construction – witness the fact that both auxiliaries in (1) constitute separate morpho-phonological entities, whereas in other southern dialects this original DAC appears to have undergone reanalysis as a single verb form (e.g. *seva*: *s' < essere* 'BE' + *eva < avere* 'HAVE') to produce what have synchronically been interpreted as deviant forms of one or the other auxiliary (see Rohlf's 1968:294; Cennamo this volume, §3.2).

2. Ariellese auxiliary selection and past participle agreement

In the present perfect, Ariellese displays the classic person-based auxiliary split widely found in a number of central-southern varieties (Tuttle 1986; Nash 1997; Ledgeway 2000: 192–5; Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 681). Accordingly, the 1st and 2nd persons select auxiliary BE (*esse*), whereas the 3rd person selects auxiliary HAVE (*avé*), a pattern that holds for all verb classes irrespective of argument structure – witness the examples with transitive/unergative and unaccusative participles in (2a–f):

- 2 a **So** magnate (tutte) / 'rrevate
BE.1sg. eaten.sg. (everything) / arrived.sg.
'I have eaten (everything)/arrived'
- b **Si** magnate (tutte) / 'rrevate
BE.2sg. eaten.sg. (everything) / arrived.sg.
'You have eaten (everything)/arrived'
- c **A** Magnite (tutte) / 'rrevate
HAVE.3 eaten.sg. (everything) / arrived.sg.
'S/he has eaten (everything)/arrived'
- d **Seme** magnite (tutte) / 'rrivite
BE.1pl. eaten.pl. (everything) / arrived.pl.
'We have eaten (everything)/arrived'
- e **Sete** magnite (tutte) / 'rrivite
BE.2pl. eaten.pl. (everything) / arrived.pl.
'You have eaten (everything)/arrived'
- f **A** magnite (tutte) / 'rrivite
HAVE.3 eaten.pl. (everything) / arrived.pl.
'They have eaten (everything)/arrived'

Significantly, the data in (2a–f) illustrate another peculiarity of Eastern Abruzzese dialects, namely, the ability of the past participle to agree with transitive and unergative, and not only unaccusative, subjects – witness the plural metaphonetic participial forms in *-ite* in (2d–f), in contrast to the singular non-metaphonetic forms in *-ate* in (2a–c). Such facts directly contradict traditional generalizations about Romance past participle agreement (Loporcaro 1998; Belletti 2005), which explicitly rule out the

possibility of participle agreement with an external argument (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 747–50; see D’Alessandro and Roberts 2008 for discussion). Yet it is not correct to assume that in Ariellese participle agreement is invariably licensed by the subject, be it the external argument of a transitive/unergative predicate or the internal argument of an unaccusative, since the participle can also agree with the object, as illustrated in (3a–f):

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|-------------|-----------|-----|----------|
| 3 | a | So | magnite | li | biscutte |
| | | BE.1sg. | eaten.pl. | the | biscuits |
| | b | Si | magnite | li | biscutte |
| | | BE.2sg. | eaten.pl. | the | biscuits |
| | c | A | magnite | li | biscutte |
| | | HAVE.3 | eaten.pl. | the | biscuits |
| | d | Seme | magnite | lu | biscotte |
| | | BE.1pl. | eaten.pl. | the | biscuit |
| | e | Sete | magnite | lu | biscotte |
| | | BE.2pl. | eaten.pl. | the | biscuit |
| | f | A | magnite | lu | biscotte |
| | | HAVE.3 | eaten.pl. | the | biscuit |
- ‘I/You/(S)he/We/You/They have/has eaten the biscuits’

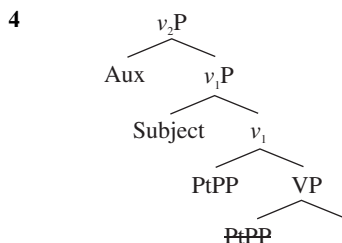
In (3d–f), the plural metaphonetic form of the past participle highlights agreement with the plural subject, as expected, and not the singular object *lu biscotte* ‘the biscuit’. In (3a–c), by contrast, the past participle, despite occurring with a singular subject, continues to exhibit the metaphonetic plural form, signalling agreement this time with the plural object *li biscutte* ‘the biscuits’. It would appear, then, that the correct generalization about Ariellese is that participle agreement is licensed by a plural argument, be it the subject or the object (see D’Alessandro and Roberts 2008 for extensive discussion). As we shall see, these particular agreement patterns prove crucial in understanding the Ariellese auxiliary system and the structure of the T-v field, a correct understanding of which will allow us to explain the structure in (1). In what follows, we present the theoretical background against which we shall develop our proposal, outlining in particular the analysis of Ariellese auxiliary selection and participle agreement proposed in D’Alessandro and Roberts (2008).

3. The design of the Abruzzese T-v system²

In discussing person-based auxiliary splits, it has often been noted that such systems bear a strong resemblance to split ergative systems in distinguishing the

² Following proposals developed in Chomsky (2005, 2006), in what follows we take functional heads to be simple feature-bundles whose PF realization takes place post-syntactically, lexical insertion operating once all feature valuation mechanisms have taken place.

1st and 2nd persons from the 3rd person (see, for instance, Mahajan 1994; Manzini and Savoia 2005). According to Müller (2005), the ergative pattern arises when v licenses the subject. Starting from this observation, D'Alessandro and Roberts (2008) propose that, on a par with ergative systems, the external argument in Ariellese may be licensed by v . However, the v structure that they propose for Ariellese is more complex than that usually assumed, in that it projects a dual v projection, as illustrated in (4):



The higher v (henceforth v_2) in Ariellese holds an unvalued person feature, which allows it to license the subject. The higher v also hosts the (features of the) auxiliary, whereas the lower v (henceforth v_1) probes the features of the object and hosts the raised past participle. On this view, auxiliaries behave as raising predicates, as first proposed by Ross (1969). If the subject is 1st or 2nd person, v_2 will probe its person feature and value its Case.³ The number feature of the subject will instead be probed by T. 3rd person is a non-person, and thus a 3rd person subject has no person feature. Hence, v_2 cannot Agree with it. This means that the subject will only be probed by T's number feature and hence be licensed by T (see D'Alessandro and Roberts 2008 for details of the derivation).

The Ariellese system is therefore different from that of other Romance languages, in that the subject can be licensed by v – witness the sensitivity to the subject's ϕ -features manifested in the HAVE–BE auxiliary alternation on v_2 . D'Alessandro and Roberts conclude that BE is the spell-out of Agree between v_2 and the subject. In other words, when v_2 licenses the subject, BE is inserted post-syntactically at PF, whereas in every other case HAVE surfaces. It must be noted, however, that the split-auxiliary pattern obtains only in the present perfect. In the past subjunctive, for instance, the auxiliary always surfaces as HAVE. In this and similar cases, D'Alessandro and Roberts argue that T licenses the subject, be it 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, since T selects a v without unvalued person in these cases, and therefore the subject cannot be licensed by v .

Turning now to past participle agreement, D'Alessandro and Roberts (2008) propose that the Ariellese facts reflect the instantiation of a process of valued

³ Observe that D'Alessandro and Roberts (2008) assume that person valuation is enough for Case assignment to take place. In other words, Case assignment does not require ϕ -completeness.

feature inheritance/transmission, giving rise to a case of ‘feature concord’. In this regard, Chomsky (2005: 14) maintains that:

on optimal assumptions, transmission of the Agree-feature should be a property of phase-heads in general, not just of C. Hence v^* should transmit its Agree-feature to V, and probe of an object with structural Case by v^* should be able to raise it to SPEC-V, a step-by-step analogue to raising to SPEC-T by C... C and v^* are the phase heads, and their Agree-feature is inherited by the LI they select.

On the basis of Chomsky’s suggestion, D’Alessandro and Roberts propose a feature inheritance mechanism equally compatible with valued features. Assuming that singular is equivalent to unvalued number, in examples like (3a–c) v_1 probes the plural object and is valued [+pl.], a feature valuation that surfaces on the participle that raises out of the VP to v_1 . In examples like (3d–f), on the other hand, the singular object cannot value the unvalued number feature of v_1 , as [+sg.] is underspecified in Ariellese. Instead, v_1 inherits the [+pl.] feature transmitted from its phase head v_2 , itself valued [+pl.] after probing the plural subject, which surfaces ultimately on the participle now raised to v_1 .

4. Double auxiliary construction (DAC)

We now turn to the Ariellese DAC, which, we noted above, presents the peculiarity of a sequence of two finite auxiliaries,⁴ as illustrated by the representative paradigm in (5a–f):

5	a	So	’vé	viste
		BE.1sg.	HAVE.past.impf.	seen

⁴ Incontrovertible proof that we are indeed dealing with two distinct auxiliaries (e.g. *so* /*si*/a + *’vé*), rather than a single verb form (e.g. **sové*, **sive*, **avé*) possibly deriving from the historical amalgamation of two distinct auxiliaries (see Cennamo this volume, §3.2), is illustrated by examples like (i.a), where both verb forms are separated by the 3pl. indefinite weak pronoun (HOMO >) *n’ome* or *l’ome* ‘one, people’ (v. D’Alessandro and Alexiadou 2006), and examples like (i.b) from neighbouring dialects (e.g. Ortonese (CH)), where both verb forms are separated by an enclitic object pronoun (Ariellese licenses proclisis in such cases):

i	a	j'	à	n'ome	'vé	rubbiète
		to-him=	HAVE.3	n'ome	HAVE.past.impf.	robbed
		'He had been robbed'				
		(Verratti [1968] 1998: 105)				
b	Sotte		'vé	viste		
	BE.1sg.=you		have.past.impf.	seen		
	'I had seen you'					

By contrast, the 1/2pl. forms *s’av(av)eme* and *s’av(av)ete* appear to be more plausible candidates for a synchronically compound verb status at PF – witness the impossibility in neighbouring dialects of pronominal enclisis to *s’* along the lines of (i.b) above (e.g. **s’té av(av)eme/av(av)ete* viste ‘we/you had seen you’). Why both auxiliaries should exhibit greater morpho-phonological and syntactic integration in the 1/2pl. than in the other persons of the paradigm is a question that we leave for future research.

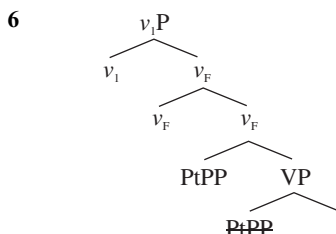
b	Si	'vé	viste
	BE.2sg.	HAVE.past.impf.	seen
c	A	'vé	viste
	HAVE.3	HAVE.past.impf.	seen
d	S'	av(av)eme	viste
	BE.1/2	HAVE.1pl.past.impf.	seen
e	S'	av(av)ete	viste
	BE.1/2	HAVE.2pl.past.impf.	seen
f	A	'vé	viste
	HAVE.3	HAVE.past.impf.	seen
	'I/You/(S)he/We/You/They had seen'		

Significantly, the lower auxiliary invariably surfaces across the entire paradigm as an inflected past tense form of HAVE as the sole exponent of imperfective past tense in the construction,⁵ whereas the higher auxiliary displays a classic person-based auxiliary split with BE (i.e. *s(V)*) in the 1st and 2nd persons and HAVE (i.e. *a*) in the 3rd person identical to that found in the present perfect (cf. 2a–f). As a consequence, the ϕ -features of the subject are variously distributed and spelt out across both auxiliaries. More specifically, in the 1/2sg. and 3rd person, where the lower HAVE auxiliary presents a syncretic form (i.e. *'vé* < HABEBAM/-s/-*(N)T*), person is unambiguously marked on the higher auxiliary through the person-driven HAVE–BE split, whereas in the 1/2pl., where the lower HAVE auxiliary already unambiguously marks person and number, the higher auxiliary is limited to marking the [-3person] feature through the reduced BE formant *s'* (cf. the 'richer' person and number forms *seme/sete* in the present perfect in (2d–e)).

The Ariellese pluperfect thus exemplifies through the DAC an interesting case of feature-spreading in the discontinuous expression of the subject's ϕ -features across both auxiliaries, as well as a complex asymmetry in auxiliary selection, the lower auxiliary invariably surfacing as HAVE, insensitive to the person-driven HAVE–BE split operative in the higher auxiliary along the lines of the present perfect. Both of these phenomena, we claim, are a direct consequence of the design of the Ariellese T-*v* system. In particular, following D'Alessandro and Roberts' (2008) analysis of the Ariellese T-*v* system outlined in §3, we interpret the Ariellese DAC as a direct instantiation of the double *v* projection, the higher auxiliary lexicalizing *v*₂, hence its sensitivity to the ϕ -features of the subject as manifested in the observed HAVE–BE split, and the lower auxiliary lexicalizing *v*₁. So far we have been assuming that the participle raises to *v*₁ in Ariellese. As we can see from the examples in (5), however, the participle is present also in the

⁵ The syncretic auxiliary *'vé* is a commonly reduced form of 1sg. and 3rd person *avé* (< HABEBAM, HABEBA(N)T) and of 2sg. *avive* (Verratti 1998: 71, 73), in the same way that 1/2pl. *avaveme* and *avavete* are frequently reduced to *aveme* and *avete*, respectively.

DAC. This might suggest that the structure of v_1 is more complex than we initially assumed and is in fact a label for a more complex set of functional projections, as illustrated in (6):⁶



Returning now to the DAC, we assume that v_2 and v_1 are in a feature-inheritance relation, such that the observed feature spreading of the subject's ϕ -features across both auxiliaries now falls out naturally (Chomsky 2005: 14; 2006: 14), with transmission of the subject's ϕ -features from the phase head v_2 to v_1 , just in the same way that the ϕ -features of plural subjects are spelt out discontinuously across auxiliary (v_2) and (transitive/unergative) participle (v_1) in the present perfect (cf. 3d–f). Indeed, given the proposed dual structure of the Ariellese v -system independently argued for on the basis of participle agreement, it is *a priori* predicted that any verbal head targeting v_1 will potentially display

⁶ However, there is some evidence to suggest that the structure of v_1 might be more appropriately analysed as a single head rather than in terms of the dual v structure assumed in the text. In particular, the relevant evidence comes from the variable behaviour of participle agreement in the DAC. Above in §3, we noted that in the present perfect the participle invariably agrees with a plural DP, be this the subject or the object. In the case of agreement with a plural object as in (i.a), we observed that this is licensed by v_1 , which, after probing the plural object, is valued [+pl.], a feature valuation that surfaces on the participle, which raises overtly to v_1 . Now, in the corresponding DAC, by contrast, participle agreement with a plural object proves optional (or, in any case, variable) – witness (i.b):

- i a [v₂ So [v₁ magnite/*-ate [v_P t_{magnite/*-ate} li biscutte]]]
 BE.1sg. eaten.pl./sg. the biscuits
 'I have eaten the Biscuits'
- b [v₂ So [v₁ 've [v_P magnite/-ate li biscutte]]]
 BE.1sg. have.past.impf. eaten.pl./sg. the biscuits
 'I had eaten the biscuits'

Unlike in the present perfective example (i.a), where the participle raises overtly to v_1 , if we assume a non-complex structure for v_1 in the DAC, v_1 will be lexicalized at PF by the lower auxiliary and hence will not be available for the participle to raise to. Consequently, although v_1 probes the plural object and is valued as [+pl.], significantly this Agree relation is not directly mediated by the participle raising to v_1 , but is merely transmitted by v_1 to V through the inheritance mechanism (Chomsky 2005; 2006). Crucially, this distinction between raising and inheritance in the transmission of the object's number feature valuation would appear to find a direct parallel in the behaviour of participle agreement, which proves obligatory in the former case and optional in the latter.

agreement with v_2 and, by the same token, that Romance double auxiliary constructions such as the Ariellese DAC are only found in those varieties that also exhibit participle agreement with transitive/unergative subjects.

At this point, let us put our discussion on a more concrete footing by considering the derivation of a simple sentence like (7):

- 7 So' 've viste la casa
BE.1sg. HAVE.past.impf. seen the house
'I had seen the house'

Following merger of the participle *viste* with its object *la casa*, the VP is subsequently merged with v_1 , which simply carries the features [+past, +impf.], but no ϕ -features, in the same way, according to Chomsky (2005; 2006), that T has no ϕ -features but inherits its Agree feature from the phase head C. Let us assume for the moment that the past participle moves to v_F . v_1 is merged with the phase head v_2 that carries the as-yet unvalued ϕ -features of the subject, which are valued according to the person/number feature of the subject once merged in Spec v_1 P and probed by v_2 . These valued features then spread through feature transmission/inheritance from v_2 to v_1 , ultimately giving rise at PF to the discontinuous expression of the subject's ϕ -features observed across both v heads. In our particular case, v_2 and v_1 will bear the feature bundles in (8a–b), respectively, which, once sent to PF, will be lexicalized as BE (namely, *so'*) and HAVE (namely, *'vé*).

- 8 a $v_2 = [1, \text{sg.}] \Rightarrow \textit{so'}$
b $v_1 = [1, \text{sg., past, impf.}] \Rightarrow \textit{'vé}$

Now, while the surface lexicalization of v_2 as BE in (8a) proves straightforward, in that an Agree relation between a 1st (or 2nd) person subject and v_2 invariably surfaces as auxiliary BE in accordance with the usual person-based split (cf. discussion in §3), it remains to be explained why the same person specification inherited by v_1 fails to license BE in (8b). We suggest here that when the features [past, impf.] are present on the same head as 1st and 2nd person features, this feature-bundle is spelt out at PF as HAVE in southern Italian dialects (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 729), overriding the usual person-based auxiliary split. This conclusion is based on the empirical observation that in those central and southern dialects reported to have person-driven auxiliary splits, such splits typically only operate in the present perfect, but not in other paradigms such as the pluperfect indicative, conditional perfect and past subjunctive (Ledgeway 2000: 204–5; Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 681, 729). This suggests a different spell-out outcome when the person features stand 'alone' in the functional head, as opposed to when they co-occur with specific tense-aspectual features. In fact, this is also the case in Ariellese, where the past

subjunctive/past conditional licenses HAVE with all grammatical persons, including the 1st and 2nd persons (e.g. *avesse*/**fusse viste* ‘I would have seen’, *avisse*/**fusse viste* ‘you would have seen’). Crucially, such facts demonstrate that auxiliary selection in these dialects is not simply person-sensitive, as traditionally assumed, but is also tense-aspect sensitive, insofar as an explicitly specified temporal-aspectual featural specification has an effect on the PF-lexicalization of the feature-bundle present on the lower auxiliary head.⁷

5. Conclusion

In the preceding discussion we have demonstrated how the DAC provides considerable empirical and theoretical support for the view that Ariellese is characterized by a dual *v* structure, as independently maintained on the basis of participle agreement facts by D’Alessandro and Roberts (2008), which in this particular instance surfaces in the dual finite auxiliary structure of the DAC. At the same time, we have drawn on the Ariellese DAC to adduce substantial evidence for a dynamic model of feature-bundling on functional heads, according to which there is no one-to-one correspondence between bundles of features and particular functional heads, as witnessed most acutely in the discontinuous expression of the subject’s ϕ -features across both finite auxiliaries as a reflex of a process of feature inheritance/transmission from the phase head v_2 to v_1 -V. By the same token, these fluid instantiations of feature-bundles across different functional heads were shown to have differing PF realizations, as directly manifested in the asymmetric lexicalization of the higher and lower auxiliaries in the DAC.

⁷ We assume that, in temporal-aspectual terms, the present perfect represents the unspecified, default value, hence is unable to override the person-driven auxiliary split.

11 Perfective auxiliaries in the pluperfect in some southern Italian dialects

Michela Cennamo

1. Introduction

In this chapter we shall discuss auxiliary selection in some Molisan and Campanian varieties in relation to the use of the verb forms *EVA* and *SEVA* in the pluperfect of all verb classes, as well as in the imperfect/pluperfect in copular sentences.^{1,2} In particular, we consider their synchronic/diachronic relationship to the other perfective auxiliaries *be* and *have*.

The discussion is organized as follows. Section 2 illustrates the distribution of these forms in the varieties under examination. Section 3 investigates the origin and function of the forms *EVA/SEVA*, well attested also in other Italian dialects (e.g. Piedmontese, Lombard, Tuscan and Abruzzese) and in Old Tuscan. It is demonstrated that the forms *EVA/SEVA* derive from *have*, which in some varieties also occur as a copula in the imperfect. Furthermore, their distribution is shown to reflect the existence of aspectual and thematic constraints on the use of perfective auxiliaries in the pluperfect, ultimately pointing to a change in progress in some Campanian varieties: the reintroduction of an active system marked through auxiliary selection, sensitive to a gradient model of split intransitivity (Sorace 2000; Cennamo 2008). Finally, §4 summarizes the results.

¹ I wish to thank Paola Benincà, Paolo Di Giovine, Romano Lazzeroni, Mair Parry and Nigel Vincent for enlightening discussions on the topic, as well as an anonymous referee for very helpful comments. I am also grateful to Giorgio Banti for pointing out to me the existence of this phenomenon in Fodom, providing also the relevant data. Preliminary versions of this chapter were presented at the *First Cambridge Italian Dialect Syntax Meeting*, at the *XII Giornata di Dialettologia*, Padua, 23 June 2006, and at the University of Manchester, 26 April 2007. I am indebted to the audiences for their stimulating reactions. In particular, I thank Delia Bentley, Adam Ledgeway, Geraldine Legendre, Michele Loporcaro, Rita Manzini and Ian Roberts. All shortcomings are, of course, my own responsibility.

² When forms relating to specific grammatical persons and individual dialects are not of direct interest, we employ the forms in small caps *EVA* and *SEVA* as a generic label for the category as a whole. Similarly, we provisionally gloss all forms from such paradigms as *EVA* and *SEVA* (though see discussion in § 3.2 below, where it will be argued that these forms derive from *have*).

2. EVA/SEVA in some Molisan and Campanian dialects

2.1. Isernia

In Isernia, the pattern of auxiliary selection is fairly regular across all social classes, ages and verb classes, both in the perfect and the pluperfect. Generally, *be* occurs in the perfect in the 1/2sg. and the 1/2pl., while *have* occurs in the 3rd person (cf. 1a–c). With transitives, reflexives and passives, *be* is also possible in the 3pl. (e.g. *so rittā* ‘they-are [= ‘they have’] said’, *tsə so pəndutā* ‘they-are [= ‘they have’] repented’, *so statā kundannatā* ‘they-are [= ‘they have’] been condemned’):

Monadic intransitives/transitives

- 1 a songə /ʃi /ε /semmə /setə /annə + natə /jutə
I-am you-are (s)he-has we-are you-are they-have born gone
/fatikatə /rittə
worked said
‘I etc. was born/have gone/worked/said’

Reflexives

- b mə songə/tə ʃi /ts e /tʃə semmə/və
myself= I-am yourself= you-are self= (s)he-has ourselves= we-are yourselves=
setə /ts annə + fattə /pəndutə /truvatə /amatə
you-are selves= they-have done repented found loved
‘I etc. have made myself/repented/found myself/loved myself’
- c songə /ʃi /ε /semmə /setə /annə +ʃtatə kundannatə
I-am you-are (s)he-has we-are you-are they-have been condemned
‘I etc. have been sentenced’

In the pluperfect of all verbs, the paradigm in (2) based upon EVA is employed (the 1/2pl. variants *avavammə/evavammə* and *evavatə* denote a more remote past):

- 2 eva, ivə, eva, avammə/avavammə/evavammə, avatə/evavatə, 'evənə

EVA, therefore, is the only auxiliary in the pluperfect, employed indifferently with monadic intransitives and transitives (cf. 3a), reflexives (cf. 3b) and passives (cf. 3c):

- 3 a eva /ivə /eva /a(va)vammə/(ev)avatə/'evənə + natə /karutə
I-EVA you-EVA (s)he-EVA we-EVA you-EVA they-EVA born fallen
/fatikatə /rittə
worked said
‘I etc. had (been) born/fallen/worked/said’
- b m eva /t ivə /ts evə /tʃ avammə
myself= I-EVA yourself= you-EVA self=(s)he-EVA ourselves= we-EVA
/v (ev)avatə /ts evənə +fattə nu vestitə nwovə
yourselves= you-EVA selves= they-EVA made a suit new
‘I etc. had made myself a new suit’

- c eva /ivə /eva /a(va)vammə /(ev)avatə /'evənə +ʃtatə kundannatə
 I-EVA you-EVA (s)he-EVA we-EVA you-EVA they-EVA been condemned
 'I etc. had been sentenced'

The form EVA also occurs in the imperfect and pluperfect of copular sentences:

- 4 a i eva vaʎʎola kwandə ru songə ŋgundratə
 I EVA girl when him= I-am met
 'I was young when I met him'
- b eva ʃtatə kundent
 I-EVA been happy
 'I had been happy'

2.2. *Arzano*

In the dialect of Arzano, situated about 10 kilometres outside Naples, the form SEVA also occurs in the pluperfect alongside *be* and *have*. The distribution of the three auxiliaries with monadic intransitives in this variety, as well as in San Sebastiano (cf. § 2.2.1) and other Campanian dialects (Cennamo 2008; in press), follows a lexical-aspectual path and is subject to aspectual and thematic constraints that can be readily plotted in terms of Sorace's Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (ASH; cf. Sorace 2000; 2004). The latter reflects the interplay of aspectual and thematic notions, such as telicity, affectedness and control, in determining auxiliary selection, its variation in a number of western European languages and native speakers' intuitions, as well as the acquisitional paths of perfective auxiliaries in L_1 and L_2 . The ASH also underlies diachronic changes involving the elimination and introduction of a split intransitivity system marked through auxiliary selection (Cennamo 2008).

Core unaccusative/ S_O verbs display an Undergoer/theme-patient subject and denote a dynamic, telic situation (It. *arrivare* 'to arrive'). In some languages, verbs denoting inherently telic change of location (It. *partire* 'to leave') realize core unaccusativity, insofar as variation in auxiliary selection is never attested. Verbs denoting the continuation of a pre-existing state such as *durare* 'to last', lie on the high end of the unaccusativity gradient. In some western European languages these verbs select *be*, unlike verbs denoting an abstract/mental state (It. *sembrare* 'to seem'), which select *have* (Sorace 2000: 869). In some contemporary Campanian varieties, the core of the category is realized by verbs denoting definite (i.e. telic) change of state (Nap. *muri* 'to die'), whereas verbs denoting telic change of location (Nap. *parti* 'to leave') are coded as more peripheral, displaying alternation (Cennamo 2001; 2008).

Core unergative/ S_A verbs display an agentive subject, namely an Actor/agent, with a high degree of control over the verbal situation, which is dynamic and

inherently atelic (It. *lavorare* ‘to work’). In contemporary Campanian varieties, this class is instantiated by non-motion verbs denoting a controlled activity (e.g. *faticà* ‘to work’), whereas verbs of motion denoting uncontrolled process (e.g. *correre* ‘to run’) may display variation, *be* occurring in some persons among working-class speakers (Cennamo 2001; 2008).

The thematic and aspectual parameters that interact to determine the ASH are not of equal importance in determining the unaccusative/unergative nature of particular verbs. Telicity is relevant for the unaccusative/unergative marking of verbs denoting change of location and change of state, whereas the degree of agentivity and control of the subject affects the unaccusative or unergative marking of activity verbs that do not denote motion. The degree of variation in auxiliary selection is a function of the position of the verb along the hierarchy, increasing as one moves away from the core of the categories, namely, the aspectual specification of the situation expressed by the verb and the degree of agentivity and control of the subject. Variation is maximal in the middle of the hierarchy, namely, at the stative pole, where telicity is irrelevant and the subject has no/low agentivity and control.

Returning now to Arzano, the distribution of the three auxiliaries varies according to the social class of the informants (working vs middle classes) and their age (elderly vs middle-aged vs youth; cf. Chiacchio 2005). In particular, *be* and SEVA are the main auxiliaries employed in the pluperfect. *Be* is more widespread among elderly and middle-aged speakers of both the working and middle classes in conjunction with verbs of (definite/indefinite) change of state (e.g. *nascere* ‘to be born’) and telic change of location (e.g. *partì* ‘to leave’), although it alternates with SEVA in all persons of these core unaccusatives. Most typically, however, among the middle classes SEVA occurs in the 2sg./pl. (cf. 5a), except among younger informants, who prefer SEVA, generally alternating with *be* (cf. 5b). With activity verbs not indicating motion, only the auxiliary *have* is attested in all persons (see Table 11.1):

5	a	erə	/sivə	/erə	/erəmə	/sivənə	/erənə+	nate /partutə
		I-was	you-SEVA	he-was	we-were	you-SEVA	they-were	born left
		‘I etc. had (been) born/left’						
	b	sevə/erə	/sivə	/sevə /erə	/sevəmə /erəmə	/sivənə /irəvə/		
		I-SEVA/-was	you-SEVA	(s)he-SEVA/-was	we-SEVA/-were	you-SEVA/-were		
		sevənə/erənə	+ natə	/partutə				
		they-SEVA/-were	born left					
		‘I etc. had (been) born/left’						

Among the working class, *be* and SEVA also occur with peripheral unaccusatives, namely verbs denoting the continuation of a pre-existing state (e.g. *rimané* ‘to remain’) and existence of a state (e.g. *abbastà* ‘to suffice’), as well as with verbs denoting an uncontrolled process, such as *sciuri* ‘to blossom’.

Table 11.1 *Distribution of SEVA, be and have in the pluperfect of monadic intransitives in Arzano*³

	Working class			Middle class		
	Elderly	Middle-aged	Youth	Elderly	Middle-aged	Youth
Definite change of state	be, SEVA†	be, SEVA†	SEVA†, be	be, SEVA†	be, SEVA†	SEVA†, be
Indefinite change of state	be, SEVA†	be, SEVA†	SEVA†, be	SEVA†, be	SEVA†, be	SEVA†, be
Telic change of location	be, SEVA†	be, SEVA†	SEVA†, be	SEVA†, be	SEVA†, be	SEVA†, be
Cont. of pre-exist. state						
1. <i>rurà</i> 'to last'	be, SEVA	be, SEVA	be, SEVA	be	be	be, SEVA
2. <i>rimané</i> 'to remain'	have† (rare)	be	be, SEVA	be	be	be, SEVA
Existence of state (<i>piacé</i> 'to please')	be, SEVA	be (have)	be, SEVA	be, SEVA	be/SEVA	be, SEVA
Uncontrolled process	have†				SEVA†	
1. <i>tremmà</i> 'to tremble'	be [-an.]	be [-an.]	be [-an.]	be [-an.]	be [-an.]	be [-an.]
	have [+an.]	have [+an.]	have [+an.]	have [+an.]	have [+an.]	have [+an.]
2. <i>sciuri</i> 'to blossom'	SEVA/be	SEVA/be	SEVA/be	SEVA/be	SEVA/be	SEVA/be
Controlled process, motion						
1. <i>nutà</i> 'to swim'	have	have	have	have	have	have
2. <i>cammenà</i> 'to walk'	be	be	be	be	be	be
Controlled process non-motion: <i>faticà</i> 'to work'	be, have†	be, have†	be, have†	have	have	have

With the verb *tremmà* 'to tremble' the auxiliary *be* is preferred with inanimate subjects, whereas *have* occurs with animate subjects. Auxiliary *have* also occurs, albeit rarely, in the 3pl. with verbs denoting continuation of a pre-existing state, such as *rurà* 'to last', while *be* and SEVA alternate with *rimané*. With verbs denoting controlled processes, whether involving motion or not, both *be* and *have* may occur, but not SEVA. With monadic intransitives SEVA does not therefore occur with core unergatives and is most frequently used by young speakers. As illustrated in Table 11.1, there appear to be two changes in progress: (i) the gradual elimination of SEVA, which is being replaced by *be*, the most frequent perfective auxiliary with core unaccusatives, with alternation between *be*/SEVA in the intermediate classes with peripheral unaccusatives/unergatives; (ii) the gradual penetration of *have* into the pluperfect, where

³ † indicates restrictions on person and number.

be and *SEVA* are the traditional auxiliaries. This change appears to have begun with core unergatives and is gradually expanding along the ASH, involving core/peripheral unergatives as well as peripheral unaccusatives, but not core unaccusatives, which still only occur with *be*/*SEVA*.

With reflexives, *SEVA* occurs in all subclasses (cf. 6a), alternating with *be* and *have* (cf. 6b), the latter occurring especially with dative/indirect reflexives (see also Loporcaro 1998; 2001; 2007; Ledgeway 2000; 2003a; Cennamo 2002):

- 6 a m *ε*ṛə /t *i*və /sə *sevə* /tʃ 'evəmə
 myself=I-was yourself= you-were self= (s)he-*SEVA* ourselves=we-were
 /v 'ivəvə/-nə /s 'evənə + mənɔʒatə
 yourselves= you-were selves= they-had eaten
- b m *ε*ṛə /t *i*və /s *ε*ṛə /tʃ 'evəmə
 myself=I-was yourself= you-were self= (s)he-was ourselves= we-were
 /v 'ivəvə/-ne /s 'erən + mənɔʒatə
 yourselves= you-were selves= they-were eaten
 'I etc. had eaten'

With (reflexive and non-reflexive) anticausatives, *SEVA* does not occur; *be* is the most frequent auxiliary (cf. 7a), sometimes alternating with *have* in the 3pl. among all speakers (cf. 7b), irrespective of social class and age:

- 7 a o ppanə. s *ε*ṛə fərnutə
 the bread self= was finished
 'the bread had run out'
- b e prettsə 'erənə /avevənə auməntatə
 The prices were had increased
 'The prices had gone up'

With passives, *SEVA* proves the most widespread auxiliary, at times giving way to *be*, probably under the influence of Italian (8):

- 8 *sevə* /sivə /*ε*ṛə /'sevəmə /'sivənə /'sevənə + statə vistə
 I-*SEVA* you-*SEVA* (s)he-was we-*SEVA* you-*SEVA* they-*SEVA* been seen
 'I etc. had been seen'

SEVA may also occur in the imperfect and pluperfect in copular sentences, although *be* is more usual (cf. 9a). Interestingly, in this dialect the form *EVA* also occurs, but functions as the imperfect of *have* and not *be* (cf. 9b):

- 9 a *karlə* *ε*ṛə/ *sevə*/ **evə* *bbellə*
 Carlo was *SEVA* *EVA* handsome
 'Carlo was handsome'
- b *evə* telefonatə
 (s)he-*EVA* phoned
 '(S)he had phoned'

Table 11.2 *Distribution of SEVA, be and have in the pluperfect of San Sebastiano*⁴

	Working class			Middle class		
	Elderly	Middle-aged	Youth	Elderly	Middle-aged	Youth
Definite change of state	be/have	be/have/SEVA† be		have† be	be	be
	SEVA† be be/SEVA†	SEVA† be		SEVA†		
Indefinite change of state	have/be	be/have†	be	have† be	have†	be
	SEVA†	SEVA† be	have†	SEVA†	be	
Telic change of location	be/have/SEVA†	be/have/SEVA† be	have† be	have SEVA† be	SEVA† be	SEVA† be
Cont. of pre-exist. state						
1. <i>rurà</i> 'to last'	have	be, have	be	be, have† (rare)	be	be
2. <i>rimané</i> 'to remain'	be/SEVA†	SEVA have	be	have/be/SEVA†	be	be
Existence of state (<i>piacé</i> 'to please')	have, SEVA, be† have, SEVA, be be, SEVA have, SEVA, be	be, SEVA, be† have, SEVA, be be, SEVA have, SEVA, be	be, SEVA, be† have, SEVA, be be, SEVA have, SEVA, be	be, SEVA, be† have, SEVA, be be, SEVA have, SEVA, be	be, SEVA, be† have, SEVA, be be, SEVA have, SEVA, be	be, SEVA, be† have, SEVA, be be, SEVA have, SEVA, be
Uncontrolled process						
1. <i>tremmà</i> 'to tremble'	SEVA have be	have be	have be	have be	SEVA be have	have be
2. <i>sciuri</i> 'to blossom'						
Controlled process, motion						
1. <i>nutà</i> 'to swim'	SEVA, have	have	be/have	have	have, be	have, be
2. <i>cammenà</i> 'to walk'	SEVA, have	be, SEVA	be/have	be/have	have, be	have, be
Controlled process, non-motion: <i>faticà</i> 'to work'	SEVA have, be	be, SEVA/have	be/have	have, be/have	have	have
				be		be/have

2.2.1. *San Sebastiano* Also in San Sebastiano al Vesuvio, a town situated in the Vesuvian area not far from Naples, there occur three auxiliaries in the pluperfect of transitives, monadic intransitives, reflexives and passives: *be*, *have* and, more rarely, *SEVA*. With monadic intransitives, the distribution of *SEVA* reflects social class and age, and is sensitive to the ASH. In particular, among the middle classes *SEVA* occurs only among elderly and middle-aged speakers, in alternation with *be* and *have* (see Table 11.2), principally in the 2sg./pl., and does not occur with core unergatives. Among the working classes,

⁴ † indicates restrictions on person and number; *SEVA*: 2sg./pl.

SEVA occurs among all informants, in all persons, with all verb classes, including core unergatives. Also, in San Sebastiano there appears to be a change in progress, in that SEVA is receding among the middle classes, a process that appears to have started with core unergatives where SEVA does not occur and *be* and *have* alternate in different persons. Mention must also be made of the use of *have*, most typically in the 2sg/pl., with all monadic intransitives among speakers of both classes and all ages. Its use, however, is more prominent with core unergatives and less frequent with core unaccusatives, which usually take *be*, while *have* mainly occurs in specific persons (see Table 11.2).

As a tense-aspect marker used to denote either a past action *qua* copula in the imperfect or an event that took place before a definite point in time *qua* auxiliary in the pluperfect, SEVA appears among the middle classes also to have become a marker of S_O status, its occurrence being sensitive to such aspectual features as telicity, dynamicity and stativity (and such thematic notions as lack of control). Previously, however, as witnessed by its distribution among working-class speakers traditionally less influenced by Italian, it appears to have been only a marker of perfectivity.

The form SEVA is also attested with (all subclasses of) reflexives, mainly, though not exclusively, in the 2sg./pl. (cf. 11a), where it occurs across both social classes and among elderly and middle-aged speakers. By contrast, younger speakers of both classes select *be* (with few occurrences of *have* with dative/indirect reflexives). SEVA also occurs with (reflexive and non-reflexive) anticausatives among speakers of both classes and all ages, although *be* is the auxiliary normally employed, sometimes alternating with *have* in addition to SEVA (cf. 11b):

- 11 a mə sevə /t aivə /sə sevə /tʃ a'evənə
 myself= I-SEVA yourself= you-had self= (s)he-SEVA ourselves= we-had
 /v a'ivənə /sə 'sevənə + akkattatə
 yourselves= you-had selves= they-SEVA bought
 'I etc. had bought'
- b e prəttə 'sevənə /a'evənə /'erənə aumentatə
 the prices SEVA had were increased
 'The prices had gone up'

Also, with resultative passives SEVA alternates with *have* and *be*, person restrictions varying according to speaker. Among elderly, working-class speakers it may also occur in all persons, alternating with *have* in the 2pl. and *be* in the 1sg. and 3sg.:

- 12 avevə /sivə /erə /'erəmə /'irənə /'erənə + statə litʃendzjatə
 I-had you-SEVA (s)he-was we-were you-were they-were been sacked
 'I etc. had been sacked'

Among the working classes, SEVA is also attested, principally in the 1/2pl. with transitives, where it alternates with both *have* (cf. 13a) and *be* (cf. 13b):

- 13 a avevə /avivə /avevə /'sevənə /a'ivənə /a'erənə + ruttə o vasə
I-had you-had (s)he-had we-SEVA you-had they-had broken the vase
- b ɛrə /irə /ɛrə /'ɛrəmə /'sivənə /'ɛrənə + ruttə o vasə
I-was you-were (s)he-was we-were you-SEVA they-were broken the vase
'I etc. had broken the vase'

It follows that SEVA must have been the original form used in the pluperfect of all verbs, which is being/has been replaced by *be*, as well as by *have* (for the various paradigms of *have*, *be* and SEVA in San Sebastiano, see Cascone 1999). More rarely, SEVA is also employed as a copula in the imperfect:

- 14 a 'sevəmə tuttə ʃpworkə
we- SEVA all dirty
'We were all dirty'
- b killi waʎʎunə 'sevənə tuttə ʃjemə
those boys SEVA all stupid
'Those boys were really stupid'

3. Function(s) and origin of EVA/SEVA

The forms EVA/SEVA (and their variants) raise a number of synchronic, diachronic and theoretical issues. Firstly, it is not clear whether synchronically they should be interpreted as allomorphs of *have* or *be* (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, III: 1–34). Secondly, it is unclear how they arose and, in particular, what the source of the initial *s-* of SEVA is. Thirdly, they appear to provide further empirical evidence for the non-lexical nature of *have* and *be*, which are to be considered simple tense-aspect markers (Loporcaro 2001; Bentley and Eythórsson 2003; Bentley 2006), whose occurrence may come to reflect the argument structure of the predicates selecting them. The data also suggest a refinement of Loporcaro's (2007) notion of triple auxiliiation (see also Cennamo 2001; in press).

3.1. The forms EVA/SEVA: *have* or *be*?

In his dictionary of Abruzzese and Molisan dialects, Giammarco (1968: 282, 737) registers EVA/SEVA as variants of the verb *esse* 'be'; similarly, in his profile of the Abruzzese dialects, Giammarco (1979: 193) quotes the forms based on what he refers to as the 'lexeme /ev/' as the imperfect of the verb *esse* 'be', whose endings are taken from the imperfect of the verb HABERE, save 1pl. *avàimə* (Introdacqua (AQ)), *avəámə* (Agnone (IS)) and the corresponding 2pl.

forms *avàitə* and *avəatə*, which he interprets as variants of the imperfect of *avé* 'have'. As for SEVA, he regards this as deriving from a 'lexeme /sev/', ultimately formed from the merger of *be* and *have*, as witnessed by the alternation of *be*, *have*, SEVA and EVA in a number of Abruzzese dialects (e.g. Ripamoliso (CB) and Introdacqua; Giammarco 1979: 194). He therefore follows Rohlfs (1968: §553), who views the form SEVA as derived from the adjunction of initial *s-* from (one of) the root(s) of *be* to the root of the imperfect of *have*, probably by analogy with the indicative, where both *have* and *be* may occur and/or alternate (Giammarco 1979: 194).

Manzini and Savoia (2005, III: ch. 5) regard the forms EVA and SEVA that alternate with *sera* (and its variants; cf. §3.3) in the 1sg./pl. in some northern dialects (cf. 15) as variants of *essere* 'be', on the grounds that they also occur in copular sentences, unlike *have*, which, they claim, is never attested in copular function. The forms EVA/SEVA/*sera*, therefore, are viewed as allomorphs of *be*, derived from the root EV- for *have* and SEV-/ser- for *be* in some dialects, where initial *s-* of SEVA/*sere* represents the adjunction of the erstwhile clitic *si/se* (Manzini and Savoia 2005, III: 16). They also record the occurrence of what they refer to as the 'single auxiliary form', variously EVA/SEVA/*sere*, depending on the dialect, which in some persons of the imperfect and the pluperfect (e.g. 3sg./pl. or 2sg. and 3sg.) represents the only available form shared by both *have* and *be* (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 662), which they take to be forms of *be*. Furthermore, they argue that these cases cannot be interpreted as neutralizations (of the distinction between the two verbs), since the overlap between the two auxiliaries only concerns particular persons (Manzini and Savoia 2005, III: 15). For instance, in the dialect of Fara Novarese (NO; cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 774), the formal overlap between *have* and *be* involves the 2sg. and the 3sg./pl. of the imperfect (cf. 15), where EVA and its variants are selected, whereas the rest of the paradigm displays SEVA and its variants. Manzini and Savoia (2005, II: 16) therefore propose that in varieties like this the paradigm of the verb *be* alternates between forms with an initial *s-* for the 1sg., 1pl. and 2pl. and forms based on EV-/er- in the 3sg./pl.

- 15 i seva /a t evi /a l eva /i sevu /i sevi /i l evu +
 scl= I-SEVA scl= you-EVA scl= (s)he-EVA scl= we-SEVA scl= you-SEVA scl= EVA
 kuntenta/-i
 happy.sg./pl.
 'I etc. was happy'

The forms EVA/SEVA had already been noted by Meyer-Lübke (1890: §449), who took both to be the imperfect of the verb *be*, with EVA possibly derived from *eravamo* 'we were' (i.e. *eravamo* > *ravamo* > *avamo* > *eva*). He does not exclude, however, the direct replacement of the form *era* with EVA and also points out the forms *ahére*, *saháme* for *erahame* in Teramo, for which he puts

forward two possible derivations: (i) *erahame* > *ahame* with adjunction of *s-* from the present tense; (ii) direct replacement of the 1pl. form *seme* of the present indicative of *be* with *sahame* (see also D'Ovidio and Meyer-Lübke 1906: §88). He also quotes the OTusc. *savamo* 'we were' and *savate* 'you were' *qua* copular and unaccusative auxiliary, which contrast with *avamo* 'we had' and *avate* 'you had' employed *qua* possessive copula and transitive auxiliary (e.g. *chè savamo in grande amaritudine dimenticata avamo ogni altra guerra* 'as we **were** in considerable disagreement, we **had** forgotten all other wars' (A. Pucci, *Centiloquio* c. 84); cf. also Castellani 1952: 914; Rohlf's 1968: §553).

3.2. SEVA/EVA as variants of have

The data illustrated in the present study and those discussed in Manzini and Savoia (2005) reveal a widespread use of the forms EVA/SEVA in the dialects of Italy (cf. also AIS 1690), not only in the pluperfect, but also in the imperfect of copular sentences. We do not regard this, however, as evidence for their being allomorphs of the imperfect of *be*. On the contrary, we argue that these forms are derived from *have*, with the incorporation of the initial consonant (*s-*) of the present indicative of *be* in the case of SEVA (and in the corresponding form based on *be*, *sera*, where *s-* is added to the form of the imperfect). Therefore, both EVA and SEVA represent variants of *have* and may function as such in some varieties. For instance, EVA in Arzano is the imperfect of *have* and cannot occur in copular sentences, unlike SEVA in San Benedetto del Tronto (AP), which can occur in A and S_A function, although only when there is one and the same paradigm (marked by SEVA) for all verbs in the pluperfect (cf. 16a–b; see Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 670–1 for further examples):

- 16 a *sɔvə* /*ʃivə* /*a'vi/jerə* /*ʃavamə* /*ʃavatə* /*a'vi/jerə* + *venu:tə*
 I-SEVA you-SEVA (s)he-had/-was we-SEVA you-SEVA they-had/-were come
dormitə /*vi/ftə* /*kuntintə*
 slept seen happy
 'I etc. had come/slept/seen/was happy'
- b *mə* *sɔvə* /*t* *ʃivə* /*s* *a'vi/jerə* /*tʃi* *ʃavamə*
 myself= I-SEVA yourself= you-SEVA self= (s)he-had/-was ourselves= we-SEVA
/və *ʃavatə* /*s* *a'vi/jerə* + *lavatə*
 yourselves= you-SEVA selves= they-had/-were washed
 'I etc. had washed'

Evidence for the source of the initial *s-* of SEVA (and its variants) comes from a comparison with analogous forms from different varieties, including Fodoma (BL; cf. Pellegrini 1974: 34) and Eastern Abruzzese (Ariellese; cf. D'Alessandro and Ledgeway, this volume), where the relationship between the initial segment realizing a form of the present indicative of *be* and the

Table 11.3 *Imperfect of be/have and present of be in the dialect of Fodom*

	Imperfect <i>be</i>	Imperfect <i>have</i>	Present <i>be</i>
1sg.	sonve	ève	son
2sg.	t'ève	t'ave	t'es
3sg.	l'eva	l'ava	lé
1pl.	sonve	onve	son
2pl.	seive	eive	sei
3pl.	i eva	i ava	ié

form of *have* to which it is added is transparent, as illustrated in Table 11.3 from the dialect of Fodom (for Ariellese, see D'Alessandro and Ledgeway, this volume, examples 5a–f).

Interestingly, in Ariellese the SEVA paradigm allows the insertion of another constituent between its constituent parts, including, for instance, the 3pl. indefinite pronoun *n'ome/l'ome* 'people', providing evidence for the initial stage of the merging of the two auxiliaries (for examples, see D'Alessandro and Ledgeway, this volume, n. 4). Furthermore, in some dialects the initial *s-* of SEVA proves optional, such that both SEVA and EVA are possible in some persons, including the 1/2pl. in Agnone (IS; cf. 17a) and in Canosa Sannita (CH; cf. 17b), where SEVA is attested only in copular sentences and with unaccusatives (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 688, 707):

- 17 a *eva /ive /eva /(s)avame /(s)avate /evane + kundiende*
 I-EVA you-EVA (s)he-EVA we-(s)EVA you-(s)EVA they-EVA happy
 'I etc. was happy'
- b *a've /a'vi /a've /(s)avame /(s)avate /(a've + minute*
 I-EVA you-EVA (s)he-EVA we-(s)EVA you-(s)EVA they-EVA come
 'I etc. had come'

In several varieties, including, for instance, Isernia (*eva*), Arzano (*seva*), San Sebastiano (*seva*) and Agnone (*(s)eva*), EVA and SEVA (*/sera*) may occur as copulas, sometimes alternating with the canonical forms of *be*, as in (18), from Olgiate Mòlgora (MI):

- 18 a *seui/seri/ te seuet/seret/ l eua/era/ seuem/serem/*
 I-SEVA/-was scl= you-SEVA/-were scl= (s)he-EVA/-was we-SEVA/were
seuef/serref/ i seuen/seren + kunte:nt/ ve'ny
 you-SEVA/-were scl= they-SEVA/-were happy come
 'I etc. was happy/had come'
- b *eui/eri/ euet/eret/ eua/era/ euem/erem/ euef/eref/*
 I-EVA/-was you-EVA/-was (s)he-EVA/-was we-EVA/-were you-EVA/-were

eoen/eren + dru'mi
 they-EVA/-were slept
 'I etc. had slept'

In this dialect, SEVA occurs in the 1sg./pl., 2sg./pl. and 3pl. in copular sentences and in conjunction with reflexives and unaccusatives, where it alternates with *seri* (probably the original form of *be*), whereas in the 3sg. EVA alternates with *sera* in apparent free variation. However, SEVA does not occur with unergatives, with which EVA and *be* occur in free alternation (cf. 18b; Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 670–1).

The use of EVA in copular function, sometimes alternating with *be*, as in Olgiate Mòlgora, points to the functional equivalence of *have* and *be* in all their domains in some Italian varieties. Additional synchronic evidence to this effect comes from the southern Lazio dialect of Castro dei Volsci (FR; Vignoli 1911: 173 n. 1), where there is complete equivalence of *have* and *be*, as evidenced by the use of *have* as a copula in the present tense (cf. 19a; Vignoli 1911: 169 n. 1). In the imperfect, the paradigms of *have* and *be* are also reported to coincide (cf. 19b), yielding free variation among *aveva* (imperfect of *have*), *eva* (regarded as the older form of the imperfect of *be*) and *era* (a recent development; Vignoli 1911: 172 n. 2):

- 19 a m apottsə mu'ri sə keftə n a verə
 myself= can.subj. die.inf. if this not has true
 'Would that I die if this is not true!'
- b i aveva (eva/ era) raddʒonə
 I had (EVA/ was) reason
 'I was right'

In this dialect, too, *have* does not exist as a lexical verb of possession (which is replaced by *tené* in this function), but only occurs as a tense-aspect marker (witness the paradigm in 20a) in both auxiliary (cf. 20b) and copular (cf. 20c) functions (Vignoli 1911: 181–2):

- 20 a eva, ive, eva, avame, avate, evene
- b ntrətantə avamm arrivatə luntanə
 in-meantime we-had arrived far
 'In the meantime we had travelled quite far'
- c eva pjena de ddʒənte
 EVA full of people
 'It was full of people'

It is interesting to compare the data from Castro dei Volsci with examples from the Piedmontese dialect of Cerano (NO), where the equivalence of *have* and *be* also involves the present indicative (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 770, who, however, regard EVA, SEVA and *sera* as allomorphs of *be*):

- 21 (i) o/ sum fo:m
 scl= have/ am hunger
 'I am hungry'

The interchangeability of *have* and *be* in (19b) and (21) clearly shows that they are just tense-aspect carriers.

Diachronically, there is evidence from Late Latin (cf. 22) to support the equivalence of *have* and *be* (Thielmann 1885: 548–9), and later in Early Italian vernaculars (Bertoni 1916: §124; Rohlf 1969: §727), including Old Lombard (cf. 23a) and Old Piedmontese (23b):

- 22 a UT MOS BARBARORUM HABET
 as custom of-foreigners it-has
 'as is common among foreigners'
- b PIETAS VESTRA HABUIT TANTA
 mercy your it-had much
 'you had considerable mercy'
- 23 a qui eran avù serve
 who were had servants
 'those who had been servants'
- b s al fosse abiudo denanze accorto e aveduto
 if he were had before careful and wise
 'if he had been careful and wise'

There appears, therefore, to be both synchronic and diachronic empirical evidence for the functional equivalence of *have* and *be*, attested already in Late Latin, that might account for the copular uses of *have*, once we separate the functional and morphological issues involved in the uses of EVA/SEVA. We can in fact hypothesize that EVA/SEVA are forms of the verb *have*, occurring, in some varieties, in the imperfect/pluperfect of copular sentences, but varying in function. For example, EVA may occur as a tense-aspect marker only, as in Isernia and Castro dei Volsci, where it occurs with all verbs, or it may mark exclusively A/S_A arguments, as in the Campanian variety of Arzano. Analogously, SEVA may function solely as a tense-aspect marker (cf. working-class speakers of San Sebastiano), or it may also mark S_O arguments (cf. middle-class speakers of San Sebastiano). Thus both EVA and SEVA may come to encode the different argument structure of specific predicates, in short, markers of split intransitivity. In the southern varieties investigated, EVA and SEVA cover different functional domains when they function as markers of split intransitivity, associated, respectively, with the unergativity and unaccusativity poles. It would be interesting to explore whether the same picture obtains for other Italian dialects that show the same forms, and what the true function of SEVA is in those varieties where this auxiliary alternates with *sera*.

4. Conclusions

The investigation of the distribution of EVA/SEVA in some southern Italian dialects has revealed that there operate not only in the perfect, but also in the pluperfect specific aspectual and thematic constraints on the use of perfective auxiliaries. In some cases, these constraints point to a change in progress, with the introduction of an active-stative system marked through auxiliary selection, which appears to follow a path consistent with Sorace's (2000) ASH. The data also point to the functional equivalence of *have* and *be* in all their domains in some Italian varieties, an observation readily understood once we abandon the traditional view that conflates functional and morphological/etymological issues. The fact that in several varieties EVA and SEVA are functionally equivalent to *be*, inasmuch as they may occur in copular uses where one normally finds only *be*, does not entail that they are to be regarded as morphological realizations of the *be* paradigm, as recently proposed by Manzini and Savoia (2005). The auxiliary *have*, for instance, occurs in copular function in the present tense in Castro dei Volsci, where it cannot be interpreted as the morphological realization of the verb *be*. Indeed, the conflation one often finds in the dialects between forms of *have* and *be* is better interpreted as a consequence of the functional equivalence of *have* and *be*, a phenomenon that goes back to Late Latin and is attested also in some Early Italian vernaculars, though realized in different ways and to varying degrees among the modern dialects, as clearly evidenced by the data investigated in Manzini and Savoia (2005).

From a theoretical perspective, the use of these forms clearly points to the non-lexical nature of these verbs (Bentley and Eythórsson 2003; Bentley 2006), which ultimately function as tense-aspect markers that may subsequently develop into markers of split intransitivity encoding the S_A/S_O distinction. This latter case arises when not only aspectual, but also thematic factors such as control and animacy appear to constrain their occurrence.

Regarding the origin of these forms, we are in favour of the hypothesis that both EVA and SEVA derive from the verb *have*, with the incorporation of an initial *s-* taken from the present indicative of the verb *be* in the latter case. Already Old Tuscan differentiated between the forms *avamo/avate*, used as a tense-aspect marker with unergatives and transitives, and the forms *savamo/savate*, employed in copular sentences and as a tense-aspect marker of unaccusatives. Interestingly, in the dialects investigated EVA/SEVA either occur as tense-aspect markers or, if they come to identify two subclasses of intransitives, it is only EVA that occurs in S_A function (cf. Arzano), whereas SEVA occurs in S_O function (cf. San Sebastiano).

12 The logic of Romance past participle agreement

Michele Loporcaro

1. Introduction

Most treatments of Romance past participle agreement concentrate basically on the main standard languages.¹ In this chapter, I shall show that incorporating dialect data into the analysis leads to a better understanding of both the synchronic working and the diachronic evolution of the past participle agreement rule. In §§2–3 I shall prepare the ground by firstly summing up some widespread ideas in current analyses of participle agreement, and then by discussing a proposal by Guasti and Rizzi (2002), who put forward a division of labour between syntax and morphology in participle agreement quite different from the one advocated here. In §§4–8 I shall then expound my analysis.

2. Romance past participle agreement: some received ideas

As early as the sixteenth century, Clément Marot's (1496–1544) versified rule pointed to the relevance of linear order for participle agreement: 'Nostre langue a ceste façon/ Que le terme qui va devant/ Voluntiers regist le suyvant./ L'Italien (dont la faconde/ Passe les vulgaires du monde)/ Son langage a ainsi basty/ En disant: *Dio noi a fatti*' (Our language is made so, that the term that precedes often controls agreement on (literally 'governs') the one that follows. Italian, whose eloquence surpasses all vernaculars of the world, has structured its speech this way, saying: *Dio noi a fatti* 'God has made.m.pl. us'). In the principles-and-parameters framework, this translates directly into the idea that participle agreement with the DO is based on a local Spec-Head configuration, just like subject agreement. This symmetry is stated by Chomsky (1991: 436), elaborating on Kayne's (1989a) influential paper: 'object-agreement, like subject-agreement, is based upon a government relation between Agr (in this case, Agr-O) and the NP'. The French examples in (1) taken from Kayne (1989a) illustrate both the basic data and the essentials of the analysis:

¹ I thank the organizers of CIDS 1 for the invitation, and Anna Thornton and one anonymous referee for comments.

- 1 a Paul a Agr [_{VP} repaint/*-es les chaises]
 Paul has repainted.m.sg./f.pl. the chairs.f.pl.
- b Paul les_i a [_{ci}] Agr_i repeintes [_{ci}]
 Paul them.f.pl.= has repainted.f.pl.
 'Paul has repainted them'

Under this account, object agreement in (1b) follows from the clitic's moving to SpecAgrOP, while lack of agreement in (1a) is due to the fact that the lexical DO has remained *in situ*. In minimalist accounts from the late 1990s onwards, agreement is understood as Case-checking (rather than assignment), and the structural locus for checking is now the specifier of the past participle (e.g. in Belletti 2001b) or [Spec, *v*P] (e.g. in Ledgeway (2000), adopting an Agr-less formalism). All these analyses are in keeping with Clement Marot's rule, which states that for agreement, there must be a hierarchical relationship that, in the unmarked cases at least, is reflected in surface linear order: 'the configuration in which agreement (and Case) on the verb and object is checked is one where the object precedes the verb' (van Gelderen 1997: 35).

Accordingly, participle agreement with lexical DOs – which follow the verb in Romance – is excluded in most Romance languages, since it is more marked (Belletti 1990: 143–4). However, this kind of agreement does occur in a minority of Romance varieties, exemplified in (2) with Neapolitan (Loporcaro 1998: 68–9; Ledgeway 2000: 306):

- 2 addʒə kəttə / *kwəttə a pastə
 I-have cooked.f./ cooked.m. the.f.sg. pasta.f.sg.
 'I've cooked the pasta'

In this case, agreement with lexical DOs must be accounted for by assuming some special mechanism, such as right dislocation with subsequent deletion of a DO clitic, as proposed by Kayne (1989a: 96).² In other analyses, some other syntactic entity is postulated, such as the abstract object *pro* in SpecAgrOP in Egerland (1996: 86), followed by Manzini and Savoia (2005, II: 561). The *ad hoc* nature of the proposal is all the more striking if one considers that van Gelderen (1997: 35) assumes an abstract object *pro* to derive *lack* of agreement with lexical DOs in the standard case.

The idea that participle agreement with lexical DOs is somewhat problematic is but one specific aspect of the general issue of the configurational definition of GRs, which have no primitive status in the Chomskyan paradigm, even though in recent typologically oriented minimalist literature a sort of nostalgia for GRs seems to be creeping in:

² See Loporcaro (1998: 204–5) for a refutation of the right dislocation analysis.

I will use the cover term SUBJ... to refer to the argument that is introduced by Merge at the highest position in a given clause... and OBJ... for the argument that is introduced at the lowest position in the clause. ... According to this definition of SUBJ/OBJ, there occur cases where SUBJ and OBJ do not match with the conventional/intuitive use of subject and object, which is determined by the GR that each argument is supposed to bear.
(Ura 2000: 30)

However, as is apparent from the definitions, GRs are still subservient to configurational positions.

3. 'Morphological' rules for past participle agreement

Linear order, as reflected in hierarchical phrase structure, is central also to the comparative account of participle agreement in French and Italian put forward by Guasti and Rizzi (2002). Their analysis, however, differs from Kayne's (1989a) in an interesting way. Taking a sociolinguistically realistic stance, Guasti and Rizzi (2002: 180) do not just equate French and Italian with respect to the contrast (1a–b), as is traditionally done. Rather, they observe that in French, as opposed to Italian, agreement appears to be only optional:

- 3 a La macchina, l' ha messa/*messo in garage (It.)
 b La voiture, il l' a mise/mis dans le garage (Fr.)
 the.f. car he it.f. has put.f./put.m. in the garage
 'The car, he put it into the garage'

This contrast is viewed in light of a general principle stating that '[i]f a feature is checked in the overt syntax, then it is expressed in the morphology', whereas '[t]he system ... says nothing about the case in which a feature is left unchecked in the overt syntax and is to be checked in covert syntax ... Whether a feature is morphologically expressed or not in this case is a property of the language-specific system of morphological rules' (Guasti and Rizzi 2002: 178). The idea is that participle agreement in French is the product of such a morphological rule, while in Italian it is a true syntactic phenomenon driven by Case-checking in the overt syntax.

Independent evidence for the contrast between morphological vs syntactic participle agreement in French vs Italian comes from the mutual ordering of *tutto/tout* and the participle:

- 4 a Gianni ha [AGRP capito [PrtPP tutto [VP t]]] (It.)
 b Jean a [AGRP [PrtPP tout compris [VP t]]] (Fr.)
 John has understood everything understood
 'John has understood everything'

On this evidence, one can conclude that 'the participial verb moves up to the relevant Agr head in Italian, thus bypassing the position filled by *tutto/tout* ...

while it stops in a lower position ... in French' (Guasti and Rizzi 2002: 180). This explains categorical object agreement in Italian, where the syntactic condition is met, in contrast to its optionality in French, where the participle is not high enough to undergo 'syntactic' agreement (under UG guidance), but is only liable to optional 'morphological' agreement.

A morphological rule of the same kind is held responsible for participle agreement with lexical DOs in such varieties as Neapolitan (cf. 2) or 'a very archaic-sounding variety of formal Italian' (Guasti and Rizzi 2002: 181):

- 5 Gianni aveva già presa la sua decisione
 Gianni had already taken.f.sg. the.f.sg. his.f.sg. decision.f.sg.
 'Gianni had already taken his decision'

Here, too, it is argued that 'UG does not enforce the morphological expression of agreement, as the feature is unchecked in the overt syntax (because the object has not overtly moved to the relevant Spec); however, nothing excludes expression, if the language has a specific morphological rule to this effect' (Guasti and Rizzi 2002: 181).

The two empirical domains pointed to by Guasti and Rizzi are indeed crucial for a general account of Romance participle agreement. As for agreement with lexical DOs, like the earlier approaches in §2, they take it to be structurally marginal: in earlier accounts, it was regarded as the product of some marked syntactic strategy (e.g. dislocation); here it is expunged from syntax altogether and relegated to 'morphology'. The same goes for agreement with DO clitics in French. The two empirical issues are part, respectively, of what I will call the 'rearguard problem' (to be addressed in §5) and the 'vanguard problem' (to be addressed in §7).

4. Romance past participle agreement: a Relational Grammar account

Table 12.1 reproduces the overview of the analysis of Romance participle agreement proposed in Loporcaro (1998: 243).

The scheme rests on dialect comparison: the abbreviations (see list pp. xiff.) on the top line stand for different Romance varieties that exemplify distinct structural options. The scheme also has an immediate diachronic reading, inasmuch as it describes the structural steps of the progressive fading of participle agreement from Latin to modern Romance varieties. The longer strip in the middle corresponds to the simplest, and most inclusive, condition: the agreement controller is a DO, with no further specification, where DO has to be construed in the broader sense defined by Perlmutter's (1978) Unaccusative Hypothesis. Given a rule consisting solely of this condition, participle

Table 12.1 *Overview of Romance past participle agreement*³

Romance varieties													
Conditions		Nap.	It.	Friul.	Mil.	Amp.	Sar.	Per.	Gri.	Fas.	Fr.	Cat.	Sp.
<u>incipit</u> ↑	2 initialized by the PnP										+		
	P-initial 2 of the PnP								+	+	0	+	+
	a P-initial 2 in the clause							+	0	0	0	0	0
	the first 2 in the clause						+	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>explicit</u> ↓	the controller is a 2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	ex 2		+	(0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	non-acting-2			(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0
	final 1												+
<u>global</u>	non-multi-attached			(+)		+				+		+	+
	transitive 2											+	+

³ Symbols are to be understood as follows: + = the relevant condition applies; (+) = applies optionally; 0 = is subsumed under a more restrictive condition.

is just a collection of morpho-syntactic features:⁴

7	a	1	P	2	b	1	P	2
		1	P	Cho	2	1	P	
		Maria	ha	visto	la casa	1	P	Cho
		'Mary has seen the house'				Maria	l'ha	vista [3f.sg.]
						'Mary has seen.f.sg. it'		

periphrases:

8 IN EA PROVINCIA PECUNIAS MAGNAS COLLOCATAS HABENT
in that province monies large placed they-have
'They have considerable monies invested/have invested considerable monies in that
province'

(Cicero, *Pro Lege Manilia* 18)

and Savoia 2005, II: 560), as well as in some dialects of Occitan and Catalan,

⁴ Within the framework of Relational Grammar, Romance participle agreement was analysed in, for example, Perlmutter (1989), La Fauci (1988, 1989), La Fauci and Loporcaro (1989, 1993). For the present paper, no in-depth familiarity with the model is assumed. All relevant notions will be introduced explicitly. In the diagrams in (6)–(7), **1** = subject, **2** = direct object, **P** = predicate, **Cho** = *chômeur* ('the relation held by a nominal that has been ousted from term status' (Blake 1990: 2)). The *chômeur* relation is extended to predicates under Davies and Rosen's (1988) 'Predicate Union', the formalism adopted here.

participle agreement still obeys only this condition. This is the rearguard in the platoon of the Romance languages as far as this syntactic phenomenon is concerned, and we have seen that agreement with lexical DOs poses some problems for the analyses reviewed in §2. Within the approach outlined in Table 12.1, the solution to these problems is readily available. To see this, it is first necessary to elaborate on the architecture of Table 12.1. From the structural backbone (the DO-condition), which excludes agreement with arguments that do not bear the DO relation (basically, transitive and unergative subjects, occurring in (6a), (7a–b)), there stem three ribs (the scheme should actually be three-dimensional):

- 9 a INCIPIT CONDITIONS: conditions on the start of the agreement controller's career ('the sequence of relations borne by a nominal in a clause', Perlmutter 1990: 1)
- b ÉXPlicit CONDITIONS: conditions on the end of the agreement controller's career (N.B.: Lat. *explicit* 'conclusion')
- c GLOBAL CONDITIONS: conditions that have scope on the entire structural representation.

The increase in restrictiveness of the past participle agreement rule across Romance can be modelled effectively through the progressive addition of further conditions along the three dimensions in (9a–c).

5. The rearguard problem

Let us start from the end, which I label the *explicit* or conclusion of the controller's career. The structural trajectory of the gradual retreat of participle agreement in Romance began on this front. A DO may end up within clause structure in different ways:

10	Possible <i>explicit</i> s:			i. Neapolitan	ii. Italian	iii. Sardinian	iv. Spanish
	a	2	=	2	+	–	–
	b	2	→	Cho	+	–	–
	c	2	→	Ø	+	+	–
	d	2	→	1	+	+	+
[+ = controls agreement]				2	ex-2	non-acting-2	final 1

If no syntactic process applies (cf. 10a), it will stay as such until the final stratum, as in (7a), a plain transitive construction with lexical DO. On the other hand, if syntactic processes do apply, an initial 2 can be put *en chômage* (cf. 10b), in case some other argument takes over the 2-GR; or it can be deleted (cf. 10c), if the 2-relation is initially borne by a pronominal clitic, as shown

in (7b); or, finally, it can undergo (passive or unaccusative) advancement to 1 (cf. 10d; further options, such as demotion to indirect object, are not germane to our discussion of participle agreement). Among the options in (10a–d), an implicational relationship seems to hold in terms of participle agreement, as shown by the columns (10i–iv). These are exemplified empirically by the varieties listed and are formally defined by the (*explicit*) conditions mentioned underneath. If a final DO (cf. 10a) controls participle agreement in a given Romance variety (as indicated by the plus in the first row), then this is also true of all other configurations in (10b–d). This is the case in Neapolitan, where the participle agreement rule simply imposes the condition ‘the controller is a 2’ (cf. 10i). Conversely, if a final subject controls agreement (cf. 10d), this does not imply anything as regards the (non-)occurrence of agreement with final 2s, 2-*chômeurs* and DO clitics. In Spanish (cf. 10iv), passive subjects control participle agreement, and passive is the only construction (among those considered here) in which participle agreement has survived into the present-day language.⁵

However, with Spanish (and the same goes, within Italo-Romance, for Sicilian and southern Calabrian; cf. Loporcaro 1998: 161–70), we have touched upon the forefront of the reduction of participle agreement, to which we shall return in §7. Returning now to the rearguard, in the Latin-Romance transition, agreement obeyed a condition of the Neapolitan kind (cf. 10i), inherited from Latin (cf. 8). Then, agreement became increasingly more restrictive, by first imposing further requirements on the end of the controller’s career. The first step was (10ii): the controller must now be an ex-2, at first only optionally, as testified by variation in the early Romance texts here exemplified with Old Tuscan (cf. 11) and Old French (cf. 12).⁶

- 11 a se tu hai trovati o veduti in questa mattina di questi uccelli
if you have found.m.pl. or seen.m.pl. in this morning of these birds.m.pl.
‘if you found or saw such birds this morning’
(Novellino 827)

- b i ho veduto cosa che molto mi dispiace
I have seen.m.sg. thing.f.sg. that much me=displeases
‘I saw something that very much displeases me’
(ibid. 857)

⁵ Lack of participle agreement with the argument of unaccusatives in Spanish is described by the condition [transitive 2] in Table 12.1.

⁶ La Fauci (1988: 91; 1989: 227) formalized this early step in the retreat of participle agreement by means of a condition referring to the final stratum of the P-sector of the agreeing participle (P-final intransitivity), rather than to the entire clause (a P-sector being defined as the set of strata in which a given predicate bears the P-relation; cf. Davies and Rosen 1988: 57). The alternative formulation in (10ii) has empirical advantages (described in Loporcaro 1998: 234–5) and further makes it possible to directly encode the implicational relationships, since all notions involved in (10) refer to the controller.

- 12 a *el chief li a embatue l'espee*
 on-the head to-him= he-has beaten the-sword
 'he_i beat his_i sword onto his_i head'

(*Chastelaine de Vergi* 919–20)

- b *j'ai creü vostre parole*
 I-have believed.m.sg. your word.f.sg.
 'I've trusted your word'

(*ibid.* 582)

Some modern Romance varieties are still at this stage today, as illustrated in (13) by Pèrigourdin (cf. Miremont 1976: 53–5):

- 13 a *Avem fach/facha la paz*
 we-have made.m./made.f. the.f.sg. peace.f.sg.
 'We made peace'
- b *An barrat/barradas las fenestras*
 they-have bolted.m./bolted.f.pl. the.f.pl. windows.f.pl.
 'They bolted their windows'

Summing up, the solution to the rearguard problem is indeed elementary. Under the analysis in Table 12.1, participle agreement with the lexical DO is marginal, if at all, only in a diachronic and geographical sense: historically, it disappeared very early on in most Romance varieties, and geographically, as a consequence, it is restricted to just a few modern Romance dialects. But in these dialects this kind of agreement is in no way *structurally* marginal, unlike what is predicted by the approaches in §§2–3 above. Moreover, these approaches all lump together the archaic agreement with lexical DOs in Modern Standard Italian (cf. 5) with that of conservative dialects like Neapolitan. Under my approach, by contrast, the Neapolitan case (cf. 14a) has to be carefully distinguished from the Occitan one, where the [ex-2] condition is still optional, as shown by the parenthesized [(ex-2)] in (14b), and also from Modern Standard Italian (cf. 14c), where the [ex-2] condition is categorically at work:

- | | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------------------|----------|
| 14 a | the agreement controller is a 2 | Neapolitan | (cf. 2) |
| b | the agreement controller is a(n ex-2) | Pèrigourdin | (cf. 13) |
| c | the agreement controller is an ex-2 | Standard Italian | (cf. 7a) |
| d | the agreement controller is a (non-acting-)2 | Castrovillarese (CS) ⁷ | |
| e | the agreement controller is a non-acting-2 | Sardinian | (cf. 27) |

⁷ Castrovillarese is analysed in Loporcaro (1998: 111–13), based on data from Pace (1993–4). The syntactic condition at work in this dialect, as well as in Sardinian, i.e. (10iii), was proposed in Loporcaro (1998: 234–5) to subsume the two more specific conditions [finally intransitive] and [non-chômeur] from the earlier RG literature (e.g. La Fauçi and Loporcaro 1993: 163). Under earlier analyses, the [(P-)finally intransitive] condition would bar participle agreement with the initial (and final) DO in a transitive construction like (7a), whereas [non-chômeur] would prevent the participle from agreeing with the initial DO (and final chômeur) in indirect transitive reflexives (cf. 25c). Varieties such as Castrovillarese, in which (non-)agreement in the two contexts co-varies, provide

Once these premises have been laid, the ‘archaic’ agreement in (5) can be viewed in a different light. If a speaker of Modern Standard Italian produces in speech (or, better, in writing) (5), s/he is not playing around with morphology without syntactic guidance, as proposed by Guasti and Rizzi (2002). Rather, s/he is deliberately using the syntax of a diachronic dialect from some centuries ago, as though the syntactic change (14b) > (14c) had not occurred. This is in fact what Italians have been doing for centuries, whenever they want to sound elegant: they use archaisms, not just in syntax but in all structural domains.

6. Participle agreement in Neapolitan: syntax and morphology

Let us now take a closer look at Neapolitan, which I have been considering up to now in a rather idealized way, based on work with informants for whom participle agreement with lexical DOs is the only grammatical option, as shown in (2) above (the same goes for Ledgeway’s (2000) informants). This is probably a rather conservative variety, just like the variety of French in which the participle obligatorily agrees with DO clitics (as opposed to the optionality in 3b). Fieldwork with less conservative informants in Naples, however, may yield a fuzzier picture, as is the case for Vitolo (2005: 149, 155), who reports systematic vacillation of agreement, both with lexical ((15)) and with clitic DOs ((16)):

- 15 a an'donjə a kottə/kwottə a pastə
Antonio has cooked.f./cooked.m. the.f.sg. pasta.f.
‘Antonio has cooked the pasta’
- b ma'riə a kottə/kwottə e 'vrwökkələ
Maria has cooked.f./cooked.m. the.m.pl. broccoli.m.
‘Maria cooked the broccoli’
- 16 a a pastə l annə kottə bbənə
the.f.sg. pasta.f. it.f.sg.= they-have cooked.f. good.f.
‘The pasta, they cooked (it) well’
- b e 'vrwökkələ l annə kottə/kwottə bbwonə
the.m.pl. broccoli.m. them.pl.= they-have cooked.f./cooked.m. good.m.
‘The broccoli, they cooked (it) well’
- c u tsukə l addʒə kottə bbwonə
the.m.sg. sauce.m. it=I-have cooked.f. good.m.
‘The sauce, I cooked (it) well’

At first sight, this more innovative variety seems to combine the morphological agreement rules that Guasti and Rizzi (2002) posit for both Italian

evidence in favour of the condition [non-acting-2] (the notion ‘acting term’ corresponds to a term GR – 1, 2 or 3 – plus the respective *chômeur*; cf. Blake 1990: 137). It also allows us to formalize the implication linking this condition with the remaining ones listed in (10i–iv).

(compare (15) with (5)) and French (as (16) parallels (3b)). Let us then check whether Guasti and Rizzi's (2002) approach can be extended to Neapolitan. In particular, if their analysis of French were on the right track, we should expect variable lack of agreement with clitics to indicate a lower structural position of the participle. This predicts that Neapolitan *tuttə* 'everything' should behave syntactically like French *tout*, and unlike Italian *tutto*. This prediction, however, is not borne out by the data:

- 17 kill a kapitə tutt e kkill a:tə nunn a kapitə njentə
 that-one has understood all and that-one other not has understood nothing
 /*a tuttə kapitə
 has all understood
 'He understood everything and the other one didn't understand anything'

This means that the alleged cause for variability in agreement with DO clitics for French (the higher position of the participle) cannot be extended to Neapolitan. We have to look for another cause, which becomes available under a different view of the morphology–syntax interplay. Under this view, there is a syntactic rule of participle agreement, which consists of parametric choices according to the dimensions illustrated in Table 12.1. This syntactic agreement must then be expressed with the morphological means available in the system, which in Neapolitan, as in all the dialects of the Upper South, are quite scarce, as regular participles no longer inflect for gender and number after the merger of final vowels. Thus, if in (2) or (15)–(16) the synonymous weak form *kufutə* 'cooked.m./f.' (invariable) had occurred, agreement would have been left unexpressed. Only a subset of irregular, root-stressed participles still show agreement as a by-product of metaphony: this is the case for *kwottə/kottə* 'cooked.m./f.', as well as for a handful of other strong participles including, among others, *ruttə/rottə* 'broken.m./f.', '*vippətə/veppətə* 'drunk.m.f.'.

Now, there are dialects of the Upper South such as Altamurano (BA) in which, despite these scanty morphological means, agreement remains quite stable:

- 18 a aɟɟə kottə/*kwettə la past
 I-have cooked.f./cooked.m. the.f.sg. pasta.f.
 'I cooked the pasta'
 b aɟɟə kwett/*kott u bbroɟt
 I-have cooked.m./cooked.f. the.m.sg. broth.m.
 'I cooked the broth'
- 19 a la pastə l aɟɟə kottə/*kwett
 the.f.sg. pasta.f. it= I-have cooked.f./cooked.m.
 'The pasta, I cooked (it)'
 b u bbrotə l aɟɟə kwettə/*kott
 the.m.sg. broth.m. it=I-have cooked.m./cooked.f.
 'The broth, I cooked (it)'

Significantly, in Vitolo's (2005) study of Campanian dialects, the same situation is reported for smaller villages such as Castiglione del Genovesi (cf. (20–21) from Vitolo 2005: 149, 154), whereas larger towns like Salerno show greater vacillation parallel to Naples (cf. Vitolo 2005: 147, 152):

- 20 a n'dɔnjə ε kkɔttə a pastə
Antonio has cooked.f. the.f.sg. pasta.f.
b mariə ε kkwɔttə e 'vrwɔkkələ
Maria has cooked.m. the.m.pl. broccoli.m.
- 21 a a pastə l ɛnnə kɔttə bbɔnə
the.f.sg. pasta.f. it=they-have cooked.f. good.f.
b e 'vrwɔkkələ l ɛnnə kwɔttə bbwɔnə
the.m.pl. broccoli.m. them= they-have cooked.m. good.m.

Consequently, in the same dialect area there are varieties in which any DO (whether a clitic or lexical) still categorically controls agreement. If one could show that Neapolitan is, syntactically, the same kind of system, this analysis would *a priori* be more plausible than an alternative one that takes the variation in (15)–(16) to mean that in Neapolitan the syntax of participle agreement is just like, say, spoken Catalan, where DO clitics no longer categorically control agreement (cf. Cortés 1993: 205). The latter hypothesis would imply that Neapolitan diverges radically from the neighbouring dialects of the Upper South, whereas the former would allow us to maintain areal coherence. There are indeed solid arguments in favour of the former view. Firstly, there is still evidence from more conservative varieties of Neapolitan, including written literary Neapolitan, as reported by Ledgeway (2000: 306). Secondly, for the vacillation in (the manifestation of) agreement reported by Vitolo (2005) there is a straightforward extra-syntactic reason. In fact, that variation cannot be legitimately conceived as signalling [\pm agreement] with the DO. This could be the case in (15a), where the DO is feminine, but in (15b) and (16b–c) the DOs are masculine (*u tsukə* 'the sauce', *e 'vrwɔkkələ* 'the broccoli'), such that both participle agreement and non-agreement should be expressed by *kwɔttə* 'cooked.m.' (even in the conservative dialects of the area participle agreement is never overtly manifested with masculine DOs). As a consequence, what one finds in (15b) and (16b–c) turns out to be just free variation of two forms (*kɔttə*/*kwɔttə*) to be accounted for in the morpho-phonology.

The reason for this variation lies in an on-going change in the urban dialects of Campania. We have seen that the (residual) signalling of participle agreement all over this dialect area (Upper South) is contingent upon the stressed vowel alternations brought about by metaphony. Over the past few decades, metaphonic alternations have been increasingly lost, in that the metaphonic forms, which are more radically distinct from their Standard Italian counterparts, are

being gradually replaced by non-metaphonic ones. Thus, *kworvə* ‘raven’, *mwortsə* ‘bit’, *mjerlə* ‘blackbird’ are being replaced by *kərvə*, *mərtsə*, *mərlə* and the like.⁸ The change spreads via lexical diffusion and, as an intermediate stage, it induces the kind of free variation observed in participial morphology in (15)–(16) between [\pm metaphonic] forms. All this has nothing to do with syntax, although this morpho-phonological change affects the (residual) surface manifestation of agreement. Syntactically, agreement in Neapolitan is still constrained by the simplest condition (the structural backbone in the scheme in Table 12.1), allowing participle agreement even with final (lexical) DOs, although the surface effects of this syntactic rule are increasingly obscured by unfavourable morpho-phonological conditions.

Whether a similar analysis can be extended to French vacillating agreement with DO clitics is an empirical issue that cannot be pursued any further for reasons of space (see Loporcaro, in press). Alternatively, it could be argued that French is undergoing a change by which the condition [final 1] (cf. 10d), preventing DO clitics from controlling agreement, is being added to the rule (at first optionally, as in Catalan). Either solution would be more economical than the *ad hoc* morphological rule postulated by Guasti and Rizzi (2002).

7. The vanguard problem

Even neglecting this on-going evolution and considering only the standard language, it is apparent that in French, unlike in Neapolitan, not only has the morphology of agreement been eroded, but also the syntactic conditions on participle agreement have become more restrictive, independently of morphology. This can be seen by the overview in Table 12.1, in which French reaches the highest point along the parameter of the conditions constraining the start of the controller’s career (the *incipit* conditions listed in Table 12.2 below). Consider the ungrammaticality of agreement in causative constructions, exemplified for contemporary French in (22a):

- 22 a (Marie) ce garçon l’ a fait/*-e tomber
 (Mary) this boy her= has made.m./made.f. fall.inf.
 ‘(Marie) this boy made her fall’
- b La simplicité des lois les a faites souvent méconnaître
 the simplicity of-the laws them= has made.f.pl. often overlook.inf.
 ‘The simplicity of the laws has often resulted in their being overlooked’
 (Montesquieu)

⁸ This is the general trend, as reported in Del Puente’s (1995) sociolinguistic study of the retreat of metaphony in Naples. In some cases, it is the metaphonic form that becomes generalized, such as *‘mwonəkə* ‘monk’ replacing the original *‘mənəkə*, where *-a-* historically blocked metaphony (Del Puente 1995: 55), thus generalizing the diphthong that had regularly arisen in the plural *‘mwonətʃə*. In any case, the result is the demise of metaphonic alternations.

Again, if participle agreement in French were just a matter of morphological optionality, it would be unclear how the ungrammaticality of agreement in (22a) could be explained, since the relevant morphology is still there, *fait/faite* being a strong participle. Yet agreement in causatives was grammatical until the mid eighteenth century (cf. 22b) and only became ungrammatical subsequently. Clearly, whatever happened here must have happened in the syntax, independently of morphology. The syntactic change in question can be represented as the switch from a less to a more restrictive *incipit* condition: for a DO to qualify as a legitimate agreement controller in Modern French, it must be the DO *initialized* by the participle that has to agree (as proposed by La Fauci 1988; 1989).⁹ This is not the case in causative constructions – as apparent from the structural representation of (22a) in (23) – since the DO of the participle is inherited from the previous P-sector and initialized there by the initial predicate. Hence, the nominal *ce garçon*, not being the initialized 2 of the causative participle, cannot control agreement of the latter:

23

			P	2
	1		Cho	2
	1	P	Cho	2
ce garçon	l'a	fait	tomber	[3f.sg.]

French is usually considered less restrictive than Spanish or Portuguese with regard to participle agreement, which is surely correct on the whole. However, discerning the two classes of *incipit* vs *explicit* conditions in (9a–b) permits a more accurate statement: Spanish (like Portuguese, Sicilian, etc.) is more restrictive than French with regard to *explicit* conditions, as is immediately apparent from Table 12.1, but is indeed less restrictive than French with regard to *incipit* conditions. In fact, the [initialized 2] condition, which excludes agreement in French causatives, is not at work in Spanish or Portuguese, nor in the dialects of Sicily and southern Calabria where participle agreement works as in Spanish, exemplified with Catanzarese in (24) (Loporcaro 1998: 167; contrary to Spanish and Sicilian, in Catanzarese agreement with a DO clitic is still optionally possible (cf. 24a)):

- 24 a a pittfuliqz,a ɔn l ava ma hattu/-a tʃandʒira
the.f.sg. little-girl not her= he-has ever made.m.sg./f.sg. cry.inf.
‘(The little girl) he never made her cry’
- b ??a 'littara a'via statu hatta mbukara
the.f.sg. letter.f.sg. had been.m.sg. made.f.sg. post.inf.
- c *a 'littara a'via statu hattu mbukara
the.f.sg. letter.f.sg. had been.m.sg. made.m.sg. post.inf.

⁹ Initialization of an argument by a predicate, a notion first proposed by Dubinsky (1985), consists in the attribution of both syntactic GR and semantic role.

Table 12.2 *Incipit conditions*

The agreement controller is:					
a					the first 2
b				a P-initial 2	⊃ the first 2
c		the PtP's P-initial 2	⊃	a P-initial 2	⊃ the first 2
d	the 2 initialized by the PtP	⊃ the PtP's P-initial 2	⊃	a P-initial 2	⊃ the first 2

- d *a 'littara a'via stata hatta mbukara
 the.f.sg. letter.f.sg. had been.f.sg. made.f.sg. post.inf. (literally passive)
 'They had had the letter sent off'

Whereas French lacks participle agreement in causative constructions altogether, in Catanzarese (just as in Spanish) the causative participle must agree in the passive construction (24b; the question marks show that the clause is judged as somewhat infelicitous, because passive is not frequently used, but note that lack of agreement in (24c) or agreement on both the passive auxiliary and the causative participle in (24d) are totally ungrammatical). This is evidence that the *incipit* condition is less restrictive here: unlike in French, it is not required that the controller be the DO *initialized by the participle*, but only that it be *its P-initial DO*.¹⁰ Note that it is not sufficient that it be a P-initial DO in general. This is apparent from the ungrammaticality of agreement of the participle of the passive auxiliary **stata* in (24d): while for *hatta* the nominal *a littara* is the P-initial 2, for *stata* it is not, in spite of its being a P-initial 2 in the clause (in the previous P-sector). The lesser restrictiveness of systems like Catanzarese (or Sicilian, Spanish, etc.) with respect to French along the scale of *incipit* conditions becomes apparent only in the passive, because Catanzarese has reached the maximum restrictiveness along the parameter of *explicit* conditions, requiring that the participle agreement controller be the final 1. This excludes agreement in all active constructions, even with DO clitics. The fact that Catanzarese (cf. 24a) still permits it variably demonstrates that the [final 1] condition is still optional; its becoming categorical (as in Spanish) thus represents the very last step towards the demise of Romance participle agreement.

8. The implicational logic of the conditions on participle agreement

Like *explicit* conditions, *incipit* conditions are also implicationally linked, as shown in Table 12.2 from Loporcaro (1998: 230).

In a discussion of Loporcaro (1998), Rosselló (2003: 359) criticized the notation used in Table 12.2: 'per dir que A està inclòs dins B, posa $A \supset B$ en lloc de posar, com cal, $A \subset B$ ' ['in order to say that A is included in B, he writes

¹⁰ The notion 'P-initial x ' refers to arguments that bear the x relation in the initial stratum of the P-sector (see note 6) of the relevant predicate.

$A \supset B$ instead of writing, as is appropriate, $A \subset B$ ']. That the symbol at issue must be handled with care is commonplace in the literature on logic: as Strawson (1952: 39) puts it, '[o]ne might be inclined to ask: since the symbol " \supset " is so apt to receive misleading interpretations... what is the point of introducing it into logic?' As for the specific case, the lines introducing Table 12.2 in Loporcaro (1998: 230) speak of the *set* of agreement controllers that are initialized by the participle as a *subset* of those that are P-initial 2s, and so on. In set-theory notation, the inclusion symbol should indeed have been the reverse. However, what I had in mind, rather, was the value of that sign as 'entailment' between statements ($p \supset q$, e.g. 'x is a younger son \supset x has a brother', Strawson 1952: 39).¹¹ Consequently, Table 12.2 must be read as introducing a series of entailment relations of the following kind: 'x is the 2 initialized by the participle' entails 'x is the P-initial 2 of that participle' (entailment relations of the same type hold between all the statements in Table 12.2).

The implicational logic of these conditions led to the discovery of some interesting empirical facts. For instance, one can ask the question why, given the set of pronominal verb constructions (i–iii) in Table 12.3, all and only the combinations in (a–d) happen to occur, whereas all the other logically conceivable patterns are unattested (in Table 12.3 and (25), Italian is used as a meta-language).

To see why, consider the structural representations standardly assumed for those constructions in Relational Grammar (see example 25 below).¹²

25 a direct transitive

1,2		P
1		P
<hr/>		
1	P	Cho
Maria	si è	vista

b indirect unergative

1,3		P
1,2		P
1		P
<hr/>		
1	P	Cho
Maria	si è	sorrisa

c indirect transitive

1,3		P	2
1,2		P	Cho
1		P	Cho
<hr/>			
1	P	Cho	Cho
Maria	si è	lavata	le mani

¹¹ In the syntactic literature, this use of the symbol ' \supset ' is found in e.g. Givón (1984: 19–20).

¹² The representations (25b–c) imply a reflexive $3 \rightarrow 2$ advancement, first proposed by La Fauci (1988: 82–8; 1989: 224).

Table 12.3 *Participle agreement in reflexive constructions*

		a	b	c	d	*w	*x	*y	*z
i.	direct transitive reflexives <i>Maria si è vista allo specchio</i>	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
ii.	indirect unergative reflexives <i>Maria si è sorriso allo specchio</i>	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+
iii.	indirect transitive reflexives <i>Maria si è lavata le mani</i>	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–

Combination of these representations with the set of conditions in Table 12.2 generates all and only the attested patterns in (a–d) in Table 12.3. Pattern (a) is the Standard Italian case, where none of the conditions constraining the beginning of the controller's career is at work and therefore agreement occurs uniformly in all reflexive constructions in Table 12.3 (constructions i–iii). Pattern (b) corresponds to Logudorese Sardinian:

- 26 a *maria z es samunaða*
 Maria self= is washed.f.sg.
 'Maria washed'
- b *maria z er rispösta*
 Maria self= is answered.f.sg.
 'Maria answered herself'
- c *maria z a ssamunaðu zal manos*
 Maria self= has washed.m.sg. the hands
 'Maria washed her hands'

For a nominal to qualify as a participle agreement controller, it must be the first DO in the clause as imposed by condition (a) in Table 12.2, which is fulfilled by the final subject in (26a–b) but not in (26c); see the structural representations (25a–b) vs (25c).¹³

Pattern (c) in Table 12.3 is an option taken by several Romance varieties. French is a case in point. As we saw, the French rule imposes that the agreement controller be the initialized 2 of the participle; it also has to be a non-acting-2 (cf. n. 7), along the parameter of *explicit* conditions: these two requirements are fulfilled only by the initial DO and final subject of direct transitive reflexives (cf. 25a), but not by any other of the arguments in the constructions (cf. 25b–c).

The same constellation (c) in Table 12.3 can also be derived through less restrictive *incipit* conditions, as in the Trentino dialect of Pergine Valsugana:

¹³ The participle agreement rule for Sardinian also includes the *explicit* condition [non-acting-2] (cf. 10iii, 14e), which rules out agreement with final 2s (cf. 7a) as well as with 2–chômeurs, like *zal manos* in (26c).

- 27 a le putele le s a lavade/*la'va
 the girls scl self= have washed.f.pl./washed.m.sg.
 'The girls washed'
- b la Bepina la s a rispon'du /*risponduda da sola
 the Bepina scl self= has answered.m.sg./answered.f.sg. by alone
 'Giuseppina answered herself'
- c la Bepina la s a mes/*-a/*-e le skarpe
 the Bepina scl self= has put.m.sg./f.sg./f.pl. the.f.pl. shoes.f.pl.
 'Giuseppina put her shoes on'

While coinciding with French in the syntax of agreement in reflexives, this dialect differs from French in that it does display agreement with the clitic object in causatives (cf. 28a) and agreement of the participle of the passive auxiliary (cf. 28b):

- 28 a (la 'letera) l ɔ fata skriver
 the.f.sg. letter.f.sg. it= I-have made.f.sg. write.inf.
 '(the letter) I let (somebody) write it'
- b le matelote l ɛ stade/*sta kompanade da so
 the.f.pl. little-girls scl are been.f.pl./been.m.sg. accompanied by their
 mama
 mother
 'The little girls were accompanied by their mother'

Structurally, this means that the agreement controller in Perginese has to be a P-initial 2 in the clause (cf. condition b in Table 12.2), but need not be the 2 initialized by the agreeing participle (as in French). This is shown in (29), the structural representation of (28b), where the nominal *le matelote* is a P-initial 2, but not in the P-sector of *stade* (the participle of the passive auxiliary), which nevertheless displays object agreement:

29	2			P	1
	1			P	Cho
	1		P	Cho	Cho
	1	P	Cho	Cho	Cho
	le matelote	l ɛ	stade	kompanade	da so mama

There still is a further in-between option. Alto Fassano, as described by Elwert (1943: 264–5), has agreement in causatives, whereas the passive auxiliary does not agree:

- 30 a (la 'pitfola) l a fata vepir fɔra de sot
 the.f.sg. little.f.sg. her= she-has made.f.sg. come.inf. out from under
 frego'ler
 fireplace
 '(The little girl), she made her come out from under the fireplace'

Table 12.4 (Partial) Implicational hierarchy of Romance participle agreement according to construction type

		It.	Sar.	Per.	Fas.	Fr.	* _x	* _y	* _z
i.	transitives with clitic DO <i>Maria l'ho vista</i>	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
ii.	causatives with clitic DO <i>Maria l'ho fatta vedere</i>	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
iii.	passive auxiliary <i>Maria è stata vista</i>	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
iv.	indirect unergative reflexives <i>Maria si è sorriso allo specchio</i>	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
v.	indirect transitive reflexives <i>Maria si è lavata le mani</i>	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–

- b noʃa vezina e ʃtat morduda
 our.f.sg. neighbour.f.sg. has been bitten.f.sg.
 'Our neighbour was bitten'

This implies that the agreement controller must be *the* P-initial 2 of the agreeing participle (cf. condition c in Table 12.2), rather than simply *a* P-initial 2 in the clause, as in Perginese.

Summing up, the same set of conditions accounts for the occurrence vs non-occurrence of participle agreement *in the system as a whole*, and not just in this or that construction taken in isolation. The formal implications existing between subtly differing theoretical notions such as '*the* P-initial 2 of the participle' vs '*a* P-initial 2 in the clause', and the like, have led us to discover the rationale for some non-obvious (and previously unnoticed) empirical facts, such as the implications obtaining between [\pm agreement] in, say, causative constructions with a clitic DO (cf. ii in Table 12.4), the passive construction (cf. iii in Table 12.4) and indirect reflexives (cf. iv–v in Table 12.4).

9. Conclusion

Whether generalizations such as those synthesized in Table 12.4 (or the preceding sections of this chapter) will hold up to further investigation on (Italo-) Romance varieties is an empirical issue. Until proof to the contrary, the very discovery of these facts bears witness to the effectiveness of the theoretical framework that made it possible. However, the descriptive results thereby attained are not theory-internal. Rather, they challenge alternative views of syntax, such as those discussed in §§2–3. Once again, the study of dialect variation proves to be a great resource for theoretical linguistics, both for synchronic modelling and for the theory of change.

Part III

The left periphery

13 Fronting as focalization in Sicilian

Silvio Cruschina

1. Introduction

Focus fronting is a feature peculiar to Sicilian (cf. Rohlfs 1969; Leone 1995; Cruschina 2006), as well as the regional variety of Italian spoken in Sicily (cf. Rossitto 1976). In this chapter we shall discuss and analyse the word order resulting from constituent fronting and the consequent placement of the verb at the end of the sentence. Syntactically, this word order reflects the information structure of the sentence and is closely related to the pragmatic and discourse-related notion of focus (cf. Lambrecht 1994; Gundel and Fretheim 2004). There are no restrictions on the syntactic phrasal categories that can be fronted, although it proves particularly common with predicative categories dependent on copular *be* and with complements of lexical *be* (with locative meaning) and *have* (expressing possession). This explains Rohlfs' (1969) observation that in Sicilian the verbs *to have* and *to be* tend to occur with a certain degree of regularity at the end of the sentence:

- 1 a Iddu **picciliddu** è
he little is
'He is a child'
- b A **frevi** aju
the fever I-have
'I have a temperature'

Following Benincà and Poletto (2004), we shall assume that fronting involves movement of the information focus (IFoc) of the sentence to a dedicated position situated in the left periphery. The latter makes available two focus projections: the first of these is targeted by contrastive focus (CFoc), while the second hosts IFoc, a position that can be activated in Sicilian, as well as in many medieval Italo-Romance varieties (Benincà 2006).

The aim of this chapter is twofold: firstly, to provide an in-depth description of the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of focus fronting in Sicilian,¹ and

¹ The Sicilian data examined in this chapter are drawn from the Sicilian variety of Mussomeli (CL). Although preliminary investigations among native speakers from other areas of Sicily reveal a great degree of homogeneity with respect to the phenomenon under investigation, all the examples here are from the variety of Mussomeli.

secondly to set out a theoretically oriented syntactic account of this construction from a generative grammar perspective. The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 demonstrates that the two positions in which IFoc can appear, namely, preverbal and postverbal, are associated with different interpretations, providing the motivation for movement to the left periphery of the sentence. A discussion of the syntactic properties correlated with fronted IFoc follows in §3, while in §4 the features of IFoc in the left periphery are compared with the relevant properties of *wh*-elements, assumed to occupy the same position as fronted IFoc. Finally, on the basis of the evidence reviewed here, we propose in §5 the existence of two distinct and non-adjacent projections for IFoc and CFoc within the left periphery of the sentence.

2. IFoc: distinct positions with two different interpretations

This section will address the question of whether focus fronting constructions are associated with special semantico-pragmatic properties. A comparison with Italian forms the starting-point of our analysis, where IFoc typically occurs in postverbal position (Belletti 2001a; 2004a). However, focus fronting is also possible in Italian if it bears a contrastive interpretation, namely, with CFoc (Benincà 1988; Rizzi 1997; Frascarelli 2000).² In Rizzi's (1997) seminal work on the fine structure of the left periphery of the sentence, the landing site of CFoc is considered to involve a functional projection within the left periphery. This idea continues a hypothesis originally formulated for Hungarian by Brody (1990), who postulates the existence of an FP (focus phrase) projection where the preverbal focus constituent is assigned the [+focus] feature by V. This theory, further developed in Brody (1995) and Horvath (1995), is known as the Focus Criterion, to which we return in §3.2.

2.1. Focus fronting in Sicilian

To establish discourse roles and, in particular, to elicit IFoc, question–answer pairs are traditionally employed, in which the variable introduced by the *wh*-phrase in the question is provided with a value by the focus constituent in the answer. IFoc marks the constituent that answers a *wh*-question; by contrast, CFoc generally negates or corrects a former presupposition, and for this reason it proves inappropriate in an answer to a *wh*-question representing a genuine

² Although this is the standard view for Italian, the issue is not completely free of controversy. Some Italian speakers also admit a non-contrastive interpretation of the fronted focus phrase (cf. Calabrese 1982; Brunetti 2004). Certainly, the diatopic differences between northern and southern varieties play a significant role. Southern varieties are more likely to accept the fronting of non-contrastive foci, and this acceptability markedly increases in the Italian varieties spoken in Sicily and Sardinia (under the influence of their respective dialects).

request for new information. In the following examples, IFoc is indicated in bold and CFoc in capitals.

- 2 a Che cosa hai dimenticato?
 what thing you-have forgot
 'What did you forget?'
 b (***Le chiavi**) ho dimenticato **le chiavi**
 the keys I-have forgot the keys
 'I forgot the keys'

In (2b), we see that only postverbal IFoc is grammatical as an answer to the *wh*-question in (2a), while preverbal IFoc proves ungrammatical (it would be acceptable in the regional variety of Italian spoken in Sicily and probably in other southern varieties). In Italian, only CFoc (namely, the focus of the sentence with a contrastive interpretation) can occur preverbally:

- 3 LE CHIAVI ho dimenticato, non la patente
 the keys I-have forgot not the licence
 'I forgot MY KEYS, not my driving licence'

In Sicilian, IFoc can occur in two positions, either postverbally (as in Italian) or in a preverbal position (in the left periphery of the sentence):

- 4 a Chi ti scurdasti?
 what yourself= you-forgot
 'What have you forgotten?'
 b **I chiavi** mi scurdavu / Mi scurdavu **i chiavi**
 the keys myself= I-forgot myself= I-forgot the keys
 'I forgot the keys'

The placement of IFoc in either of these positions, however, is not a matter of true optionality. In the current literature where movement is conceived as a 'last resort' operation (Chomsky 1995), optionality would raise problematic and undesirable consequences for economy principles. It will be shown that these two positions are in fact associated with different interpretations. According to the cartographic approach (Cinque 1999; 2002; 2004; Rizzi 2004; Belletti 2004b), the CP domain is articulated into a series of functional heads and projections associated with discourse/interface effects (Rizzi 1997). The role of interface properties has also become central in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995; 2001; 2005). Specifically, Chomsky (2005) notes that internal merge (i.e. movement) to the edge of the CP phase must be associated with an interpretive effect on the outcome to ensure scope or discourse-related properties relevant for a specific interpretation. This analysis also bears out the claim developed in key works on interfaces that 'marked' operations involving movement are sanctioned only when they give rise to interpretations that would not otherwise be possible (Reinhart 1995; Fox 2000).

Sicilian IFoc undergoes movement to the left periphery only when related to specific pragmatic and illocutionary features, such as relevance and/or unexpectedness of the new information. An effect is therefore necessary to trigger movement of the focus constituent, resulting in syntactic and prosodic emphasis on the focalized constituent. As observed by Leone (1995: 59), emphasis is always associated with the fronted constituent, signalling a particular interpretation. The exact value of this interpretation, however, can be inferred only on the basis of the contextual conditions.

We shall use the term ‘neutral IFoc’ (_NIFoc) to refer to postverbal IFoc, which is the unmarked option, while ‘emphatic IFoc’ (_EIFoc) will be used to refer to preverbal IFoc (in the left periphery of the sentence), which, as previously noted, is always associated with emphasis and is therefore the marked option. It should be noted that the terms ‘marked’ and ‘unmarked’ only concern syntactic word order. As will be specified in the relevant examples, in most cases the syntactically marked option (featuring _EIFoc), represents the unmarked option from a pragmatic point of view, given that the context requires IFoc to be relevant.

2.2. *Pragmatic contexts for focus fronting*

Let us now consider the contexts in which the new information (IFoc) is associated with the contextual effects induced by relevance. A constituent expressing new information is relevant not only when it represents the most salient element of the sentence (this explains the frequent occurrence of focus fronting in copular constructions where the copula does not contribute any meaning to the sentence), but also when the new information conveyed is connected to old information yielding various pragmatic effects, such as surprise and unexpectedness.³ _EIFoc is generally found in answers to questions:

- 5 a A cu u vinnistivu u vinu?
to whom it= you-sold the wine
‘Who did you sell the wine to?’
- b **Au zi Peppi** u vinnimu
to-the uncle Peppi it= we-sold
‘We sold it to Mr Peppi’

³ This definition of relevance is inspired by the work of Sperber and Wilson (1995). The interplay between new information conveyed by the focus and old information resulting from the background/presupposition allows contextual effects and further new information to be derived. This information ‘could not have been inferred without this combination of old and new premises. When processing of new information gives rise to such a multiplication effect, we call it *relevant*. The greater the multiplication effect, the greater the relevance’ (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 48).

In requests for identification, _EIFoc is the most usual (pragmatically unmarked) option, as in (6), while _NIFoc would sound rather odd and marginal:

- 6 a Prontu, cu parla? / Cu jè?
 hello who speaks Who it-is
 'Hello, who's speaking/Who is it?'
 b **Salvo** sugnu
 Salvo I-am
 'It's Salvo'

Relevance can also be associated with the IFoc of the sentence in other (declarative) contexts and not only in answers to questions, as we can observe in (7):

- 7 a **L'acqua** passami
 the-water pass.imp.=me
 'Pass me the water!'
 b **Nuddu** c'era
 nobody there=was
 'There was nobody'

_EIFoc is also frequently found in sentences with an exclamatory force,⁴ in which IFoc serves to express surprise or unexpected new information (cf. 8a), but in these cases too we can consider the relevance of the new information to be the triggering factor. Moreover, relevant information can be syntactically emphasized to highlight an assumption or a judgement, as in exclamatory sentences uttered with vehemence or anger (cf. 8b):

- 8 a Talè, **na machina nova** s'accatta Maria!
 look.imp. a car new self=bought Maria
 'Look, Maria bought a new car!'
 b **Tintu** sì!
 bad you-are
 'You are a bad person/naughty'

Likewise, the left periphery of yes/no-questions can also host _EIFoc. In yes/no-questions, the constituent under the scope of the interrogative operator (namely, the focus of the question) is commonly fronted, especially if it is a predicative category:

- 9 a **Bona** sapi?
 good it-tastes
 'Does it taste good?'

⁴ These sentences do not represent canonical exclamative sentences as defined in Zanuttini and Porter (2003). Rather, in most cases they correspond to declarative sentences with an exclamative intonation and interpretation (expressing the speaker's feelings) as a result of the focalization process. I am grateful to Eva Remberger for bringing this to my attention.

- b **Cu** **Salvo** parlasti?
 with Salvo you-spoke
 'Did you speak with Salvo?'
- c **Spusata** sini?
 married you-are
 'Are you married?'

The emphasis related to IFoc in the left periphery corresponds to a difference in interpretation: yes/no-questions with _NIFoc are read as a canonical, genuine request for new information, whereas when marked by _EIFoc such questions contain a presupposition regarding the truth of the proposition and thus express a request for a confirmation (of relevant or unexpected information) or a rhetorical question (expressing surprise). This case provides further evidence in support of the claim that fronting IFoc to the left periphery of the sentence produces an interpretive effect.

3. _EIFoc: syntactic properties

So far we have seen the contexts in which _EIFoc occurs and the interpretation with which it is generally associated. The various contextual effects associated with _EIFoc are linked to the pragmatic relevance of the focus constituent and produce utterances typically characterized by an exclamatory force, or at least by an exclamatory nuance. Hence, _EIFoc may appear not only in exclamatives, but also in declarative and interrogative sentences with a particular emphasis.

In this section the syntactic properties of _EIFoc are considered. A comparison between _EIFoc and CFoc shows that _EIFoc shares the same syntactic properties identified by Rizzi (1997) for CFoc, namely, absence of a resumptive clitic, presence of weak crossover effects, focalization of bare quantifiers, uniqueness and incompatibility with *wh*-elements (cf. Cruschina 2006: 373–6). In other words, _EIFoc and CFoc exhibit the same operator properties, and both correspond to operator-variable structures. Despite these general similarities, however, CFoc and _EIFoc constructions are not to be considered one and the same syntactic structure involving the same peripheral functional projection whose different interpretations derive exclusively from pragmatic conditions. Rather, although both types of focus prove to be operators binding a syntactic variable, there are syntactic properties which distinguish _EIFoc from CFoc, namely adjacency to the verb and absence of _EIFoc in embedded contexts.

3.1. *Adjacency to the verb: empirical evidence*

Typologically different languages show that the focus is always adjacent to the verb. With reference to Italian, Calabrese (1992: 94) states that '[i]n

Italian a focalised argument must be adjacent to the verb and form an intonational group with it'. Interestingly, this requirement is valid for what we have called IFoc, but not for CFoc (see also this volume, Mensching and Remberger, §4.1, and Paoli §4). Consider the following Italian examples:

- 10 a A chi hai dato le chiavi?
to who you-have given the keys
'Who did you give the keys to?'
b Le ho date a Salvo
them= I-have given to Salvo
'I gave them to Salvo'
b' ??Ho dato le chiavi a Salvo
I-have given the keys to Salvo
'I gave the keys to Salvo'
c Ho dato le chiavi a SALVO (, non a Maria)
I-have given the keys to Salvo not to Maria
'I gave the keys to Salvo (, not to Maria)'

In (10b') IFoc cannot be separated from the verb. The direct object can intervene between the verb and the focalized indirect object only if it is a contrastive focus, as in (10c). The most natural answer to the question involves pronominalization of the object (cf. 10b), rather than its full repetition (for the same argument with reference to VOS order, see Belletti 2004a).

The discussion above only takes into account postverbal CFoc, but what happens when CFoc occurs in the left periphery of the sentence? Is the adjacency requirement unnecessary? Calabrese (1982: 54–5) points out that phonological prominence of the phonological phrase containing the focus of the sentence allows a violation of the adjacency requirement (see also Mensching and Remberger, this volume, §4.1). This phonological prominence is clearly associated with a contrastive interpretation of the focus constituent, leading to the conclusion that the generalization above about adjacency can be violated by CFoc (cf. Calabrese 1992: n. 6). Examples (11a–b) illustrate these differences in relation to object focus fronting, the ordering possibilities of the constituents and their relevant prosodic contours (the intonational grouping of the constituents is indicated by underlining, as in the original examples from Calabrese 1982: 58, ex. 22):

- 11 a Un incidente ha visto Carlo
an accident has seen Carlo
b UN INCIDENTE Carlo ha visto
an accident Carlo has seen
'Carlo saw an accident'

The fronted constituent in (11a) must stand adjacent to the verb and form an intonational group with it. By contrast, the emphatic phonological prominence characterizing the focus constituent in (11b) allows the subject of the sentence to intervene between the focalized direct object and the verb, violating the adjacency requirement and splitting the phonological phrase containing the focus constituent and the phonological phrase including the verb into two separate intonational groups.⁵ That CFoc can be separated from the verb is also acknowledged in Rizzi (1997). In his model of the fine structure of the left periphery, the focus position (CFoc position) is sandwiched between two topic projections. Consequently, the sequence CFoc-Topic or CFoc-Subject proves grammatical in Italian (cf. also Frascarelli 2000),⁶ confirming that CFoc in the left periphery may also appear in a position not adjacent to the verb. The possibility of IFoc fronting in Sicilian allows us to compare the syntactic behaviour of CFoc and _EIFoc in the C-domain with respect to the property under investigation, namely, adjacency to the verb. The Sicilian equivalent of example (10) is given in (12):

- 12 a A cu i dasti i chiavi?
to who them= you-gave the keys
- b A **Salvu** i detti (i chiavi)
to Salvu them= I-gave the keys
- b' *A **Salvu** i chiavi i detti
to Salvu the keys them= I-gave
- c A SALVU i chiavi i detti
to Salvu the keys them= I-gave

If the focus constituent is separated from the verb, then it receives a contrastive interpretation, as in (12c), but the sentence containing CFoc proves inappropriate as an answer to the *wh*-question in (12a). Consider now when IFoc is

⁵ Calabrese (1982: 58) also provides the example of a *wh*-question where the requirement for adjacency between the *wh*-phrase and the verb is violated:

i CHI Mario ha conosciuto in Sicilia?
who Mario has known in Sicily
'Who did Mario meet in Sicily?'

This sentence represents a counterexample to the adjacency condition required by the Wh-Criterion (Rizzi 1991). It must be noted, however, that the grammaticality of the sentence strictly depends on its prosodic properties. As Calabrese points out, the *wh*-phrase in constructions like (i) must have the same phonological prominence as contrastive focus (also indicated with capitals). In this case, it is reasonable to suppose that the *wh*-element (assumed to occupy the IFoc position; cf. §4 below) undergoes a further movement to the higher, contrastive focus position.

⁶ This issue has been disputed in other studies, such as Benincà (2001), Benincà and Poletto (2004) and Benincà (2006), which claim that there is no structural topic position below the focus projection(s). See Benincà and Poletto (2004) for an alternative analysis of the post-focal element.

involved: lack of adjacency yields ungrammatical results (cf. 12b'). On the basis of these facts, a significant generalization emerges:

13 Focus-verb adjacency:

Whether it occurs postverbally or within the left periphery of the sentence, IFoc must always be adjacent to the verb, while no such requirement holds for CFoc.

The interpretation of the focus (contrastive vs new information) proves essential in determining potential violations of the adjacency requirement, irrespective of its position within the clause.

3.2. *Adjacency to the verb: structural properties*

The empirical observations discussed so far concern the linear order of the focus-verb or verb-focus sequence. This section briefly explores the structural properties responsible for the adjacency requirement. On a par with the adjacency that obtains between *wh*-elements and the verb (cf. Rizzi's 1991 Wh-Criterion), the adjacency between _EIFoc and the verb can be explained in syntactic terms by assuming I-to-C movement in order to ensure the proper checking configuration. Brody (1990: 208) suggests a preverbal functional projection as the landing site of syntactic focus (FP, focus phrase) and proposes the *Focus Criterion* to explain this syntactic requirement:

14 a At S-structure and LF the Spec of an FP must contain a [+focus] phrase.

b At LF all [+focus] phrases must be in an FP.

According to Brody, parametric variation in the area of focus movement depends on the level at which the Focus Criterion is fulfilled. The statement in (14a) applies to those languages in which focus movement happens in overt syntax, whereas (14b) is a universal statement that holds for all languages, including those in which the focus phrase does not undergo any overt movement. Verb-movement to F° must be postulated to explain the adjacency requirement and the consequent impossibility for other constituents to intervene between the focus phrase and the verb. This movement, however, only applies in the case of IFoc, which explains the possible lack of adjacency in the case of CFoc.

3.3. *_EIFoc as a matrix phenomenon: root-embedded asymmetry*

Another significant difference between CFoc and _EIFoc is the asymmetry between root and embedded contexts. Unlike CFoc, which can be moved to the left periphery of the sentence in either main or embedded clauses, IFoc can be fronted only in root clauses (see also Paoli, this volume, §3.1). This means that if the left periphery of an embedded clause hosts a focalized constituent, it is

naturally interpreted as CFoc. Consequently, if a *wh*-question relates to a constituent contained within an embedded clause, the corresponding focalized constituent in the answer can be extracted to the left periphery of the main clause, but not to that of the embedded clause (cf. 15b). This restriction does not hold for CFoc (cf. 15c):

- 15 a Chi voli ca ci accattu au mercatu?
 what he-wants that to-him= I-buy at-the market
 ‘What does he want me to buy him at the market?’
- b I **mennuli** voli ca (*i **mennuli**) ci accatti
 the almonds he-wants that the almonds to-him you-buy
 ‘He wants you to buy him some almonds’
- c Voli ca I MENNULI ci accatti (, no i fastuchi)
 he-wants that the almonds to-him= you-buy not the pistachios
 ‘He wants you to buy him almonds (, not pistachios)’

These facts suggest that the IFoc projection in the left periphery is only available in matrix clauses, and not as a final landing site in embedded clauses.⁷

4. IFoc and the *wh*-phrase

It is well known that *wh*-fronting constructions and focus fronting constructions share essential syntactic properties in many languages (cf. Calabrese 1982; 1984; Rizzi 1997). From a semantic viewpoint, these sentence types are both operator-variable constructions that involve an open position or variable within the clause that receives its interpretation by a scope-taking operator moved to a clause-external position. This section will further explore the relationship between *wh*-elements, which are traditionally considered the focus of interrogative sentences (see, among others, Rochemont 1986: 19; Horvath 1986: 118), and IFoc, in particular Sicilian _EIFoc.

4.1. *Wh-phrases in indirect questions*

Calabrese (1984) points out two main properties that focus fronting and *wh*-fronting have in common, namely, adjacency to the verb and uniqueness, and the restriction that allows only one focus per sentence. Indeed, neither multiple focus nor multiple *wh*-structures are acceptable in Italian. In current theory, the analogy between the two constructions is captured by assuming that *wh*-phrases are displaced to the same left peripheral position as focus fronted phrases. This

⁷ Frascarelli (2005: 17–18) provides cross-linguistic evidence in support of the same claim, corroborating the hypothesis that ‘languages that realize Focus in a fronted position do not allow informational Focus in embedded C-domains’.

is the analysis of Rizzi (1997), where *wh*-elements and fronted-foci in main clauses are assumed to compete for the same syntactic position. Rizzi's model of the left periphery, however, comprises only one focus projection. By contrast, in the structural model we are adopting here distinct positions within the left periphery are assumed for CFoc and IFoc, raising the question of which of these two positions is targeted by *wh*-phrases. Identifying two distinct positions for CFoc and IFoc, Benincà and Poletto (2004) and Benincà (2006) claim that *wh*-phrases move to the lower focus position, the same position hosting IFoc. Along the same lines, we assume that *wh*-elements occupy the same position as Sicilian _EIFoc. This leads us to predict that *wh*-elements must have different syntactic properties in embedded contexts on account of the root-embedded asymmetry discussed in the previous section and the relative unavailability of the IFoc projection as a landing site in embedded clauses. This prediction is indeed borne out:

- 16 a Mi domando che cosa Lucia non abbia capito
 myself= I-ask what thing Lucia not has understood
 'I wonder what Lucia did not understand'
- b Mi domando A GIANNI che cosa abbiano detto (, non a Piero)
 myself= I-ask to Gianni what thing they-have said not to Piero
 'I wonder what they said TO GIANNI (, not Piero)'

In (16a), taken from Rizzi (2001), the adjacency between the *wh*-element and the verb is breached, proving that adjacency is not always necessary in embedded contexts (especially in those with the subjunctive in Italian) and suggesting that in these cases the Wh-Criterion does not apply. Moreover, unlike in main questions, there is no incompatibility between CFoc and *wh*-elements, which can co-occur in embedded questions in the order Focus + *wh* (cf. 16b; see also Benincà 2001). Rizzi (2001) explains these differences, and in particular the possibility for focus and *wh*-elements to co-occur, by assuming that in embedded indirect questions the *wh*-element occupies a lower position, which he calls *Wh*. In light of these observations, we can conclude that in embedded indirect clauses, *wh*-elements do not occupy the IFoc position, but a distinct lower position responsible for the different ordering constraints. Neither of the elements considered to target this position in matrix clauses (namely, IFoc and *wh*-phrases) can be located in the corresponding position within the left periphery of embedded clauses.

4.2. *Wh-phrases in direct questions*

One may argue that the comparison between matrix and embedded CP-systems is not really appropriate, since the articulation of, and hence the ordering restrictions within, the embedded CP may be due to the selectional properties

of the main verb (Watanabe 2001). Indirect *wh*-questions depend on verbs that select for a *wh*-complement that is required to stay within the intermediate CP to take the embedded scope. The following examples are from Italian, but the same facts are true of Sicilian, as well as many other languages, including English:

- 17 a Si domanda che cosa gli abbia comprato
 self= he-wonders what thing to-him= she-has bought
 'He wonders what she bought him'
- b *Che cosa si domanda gli abbia comprato?
 what thing self= he-wonders to-him= she-has bought
 *'What does he wonder she bought him?'

An indirect question cannot be turned into or read as a direct question simply by moving the *wh*-phrase to the CP of the matrix clause. Similarly, in direct *wh*-questions, the *wh*-phrase originating from an embedded clause cannot surface in the intermediate (embedded) CP (cf. 18b), but must be extracted to the left periphery of the matrix clause (cf. 18a):

- 18 a Che cosa ha detto che gli ha comprato?
 what thing he-has said that to-him= she-has bought
 'What did he say that she bought him?'
- b *Ha detto che cosa gli ha comprato?
 he-has said what thing to-him= he-has bought

(18b) is ungrammatical because of a violation of the selectional requirements of the verb *dire* 'to say', which selects a declarative clause. *Wh*-fronting in direct *wh*-questions is, therefore, a matrix phenomenon. Once again the parallelism with focus-fronting is straightforward. IFoc fronting can only occur in the left periphery of the main clause. Conversely, CFoc is not subject to this restriction, leading to the conclusion that CFoc and IFoc are syntactically different, and that CFoc-fronting and IFoc/*wh*-fronting do not result from the same construction.

5. Conclusions: Two distinct projections

Beyond the pragmatic/interpretive difference, the distinction between CFoc and IFoc relies upon a number of prosodic and syntactic features. The prosodic differences between CFoc and IFoc have been confirmed by recent studies (cf. Avesani and Vayra 2004; Bocci and Avesani 2006; see also Zubizarreta 1998; Donati and Nespor 2003).⁸ From a syntactic perspective, as has been

⁸ A prosodic difference between IFoc and CFoc in the left periphery is clearly perceived in Sicilian, and native speakers roughly describe it as an additional phonological emphasis necessary for the fronted phrase to convey (or to be interpreted as conveying) semantic/pragmatic contrast.

shown, CFoc and IFoc constructions differ in two main respects. Firstly, a requirement of adjacency between the focus constituent and the verb holds for IFoc, but not for CFoc. Secondly, IFoc fronting is a matrix phenomenon restricted to the left periphery of root clauses only, whereas CFoc does not fall under this constraint and is possible at either the root or embedded periphery. The differences discussed support the existence of two focus positions, each dedicated to a specific type of focus within the left periphery of the sentence. Sicilian data provide syntactic evidence in favour of such a distinction, in keeping with recent interface analyses. However, unlike the previous works which assume two distinct projections in the left periphery, we propose here a revised articulation of the two projections to capture the Sicilian and Italian facts discussed above, resulting in the following partial map:

19 CFocP TopP IFocP FinP

In this representation of the lower part of the left periphery of the sentence, the CFoc projection is followed by a topic projection. This representation can be seen as a point of convergence between the model of the left periphery admitting a TopP following CFocP (cf. Rizzi 1997) and the representation positing two adjacent focus projections (Benincà 2001; Benincà and Poletto 2004; Benincà 2006). In line with the core assumptions of the cartographic framework, we assume that the interface properties associated with the two types of focus are read off syntactic structure, ensuring a mapping between the syntactic realization of focus and its prosodic and pragmatic features.

A question remains concerning this distinction. Is the mechanism responsible for the fronting of the focus phrase to the left periphery the same for the two types of focus? Two versions of the Focus Criterion exist in the relevant literature: a version including I-to-C movement (as in Wh-Criterion) and another version excluding it. The Focus Criterion of the first type must be invoked to account for the IFoc-Verb adjacency, just as the Wh-Criterion does for *wh*-phrases. According to this view, the fronting of the focus phrase to the left periphery is driven by the requirement that a phrase with a [foc] feature must end up in a Spec-Head configuration with a functional head carrying the same feature.⁹ In the case of *wh*-questions, it is the verb that carries the [wh] feature, and then, in order to ensure the correct local configuration, the verb raises to the head of the functional category in the C-system, taking [wh] along with it. Equally, in non-contrastive focus fronting structures, it is the verb that carries

⁹ Under current minimalist assumptions (Chomsky 2001 and subsequent work), focus movement can be phrased in the following terms: the Move operation to the edge of CP (internal merge in the CP-phase) is motivated by an interpretive or discourse effect on the outcome and is triggered by an (optional) uninterpretable focus-EPP feature, which brings the focus phrase carrying the [foc] feature into the appropriate local configuration for Agree to hold.

[foc] and that has to move to the head of FocP in order to guarantee the Spec-Head configuration (as in the literature on focus in Hungarian; cf. for example Horvath 1995). To explain the lack of adjacency requirement in the case of CFoc in Italian, Rizzi (1997) claims that the functional head of FocP is intrinsically endowed with the [foc] feature, and that, as a consequence, I-to-C verb-movement does not take place. The contrast with the Wh-Criterion is striking and unexpected, given the similarities between the two constructions in many languages.¹⁰ The same difference is less surprising if we maintain that CFoc and the *wh*-phrase target different positions, namely, CFocP and IFocP respectively. Each position is correlated with the relevant Criterion, but only the Criterion associated with IFocP involves verb-movement in the same fashion as for *wh*-fronting. Extending this analysis to IFoc fronting in Sicilian, the adjacency requirement is straightforwardly accounted for, and the parallelism between *wh*-constructions and focus-constructions is fully maintained.

¹⁰ The two types of fronting, namely focus fronting and *wh*-fronting, are assumed to involve identical constructions in many languages, including Hungarian (cf. Horvath 1986; Brody 1990; 1995), Basque (cf. Etxepare and Ortiz de Urbina 2003), Gungbe (Aboh 2004) and Hausa (Green 2007).

14 Focus fronting and the left periphery in Sardinian

Guido Mensching and Eva-Maria Remberger

1. Introduction

The literature on Sardinian grammar highlights several constructions, held to be typical of this variety, where one or more constituents appear in the left periphery of the sentence. The aim of this chapter is to discuss these phenomena in the light of the recent literature on the left periphery. In particular, we shall show that what has been considered to be typical for Sardinian in this domain must be interpreted as a kind of focus fronting that diverges from the ‘standard’ Romance type of contrastive focus discussed by Rizzi (1997). More generally, our analysis will support the basic insights of Rizzi’s split-CP approach, showing, at the same time, how Sardinian is parametrized with respect to the CP-domain.

The text in (1), a brief narration in Sardinian, illustrates the principal structures that we shall investigate in the present chapter:

- 1 Dominiga colada mi fia postu una camisa cun sa bandela de sos bator moros imprinteda in petorra e in palas, e, in pare a duos compares meos, amus curridu in sa maratona de Praga. A unu tzertu puntu, unu curridore m’aiat aboghinadu ‘**Sardu ses?**’ e eo ‘**Emmo, de ue ses?**’. **Tataresu fiat.**
‘Last Sunday I put on a shirt with the banner of the four Moors on the front and on the back and, together with two of my companions, we went to run the Prague marathon. At a certain point, a runner approached me asking ‘**Are you Sardinian?**’ and I said ‘**Yes, where are you from?**’ **He was from Sassari.**’

(*Sa-Limba* 1999–2006)

Below, in (2a–c), we repeat the highlighted sentences in (1), together with their literal Italian translations in (2a’–c’):

- 2 a **Sardu** ses? (yes/no-question with a fronted constituent)
a’ ***Sardo** sei?
Sardinian you-are
‘Are you Sardinian?’
b **De ue** ses? (*wh*-question)

- b' **Di** **dove** sei?
 from where you-are
 'Where are you from?'
 c **Tattaresu** fiat (focus construction)
 c' ***Sassarese** era
 Sassarese he-was
 'He was Sassarese'

Example (2a) is a yes/no-question in which the left periphery is involved not only in the usual mechanism of I-to-C movement of the auxiliary, but also in terms of the fronting of a predicative constituent. Example (2b) is a *wh*-question that shows no major differences with respect to other Romance languages. Example (2c) is identical in syntax to (2a), but is a declarative and not an interrogative. As illustrated in (2a', c'), the two sentences involving fronting of a non-*wh*-constituent prove ungrammatical in Italian, as is also true of most other Romance languages.

In the present chapter we shall focus on the construction in (2a) and (2c). Following standard assumptions, a fronted item is usually either a topic or focus. However, the adjective *Tattaresu* 'Sassarese' in example (2a) cannot be argued to be a topical expression, since it represents the (indirect) answer to a question, namely, a case of information focus. Consequently, there are two crucial differences with respect to languages like Italian.¹ Firstly, whereas in Italian contrastive focus constructions show fronted constituents (cf. 4a), information focus does not. Secondly, not all constituents may appear in a fronted position – witness the ungrammaticality of (4b):

- 3 a **Custu** **libru** **appo** **lessu**
 this book I-have read
 'I have read this book'

(Jones 1988: 185)

- b **Fatu** **l'** **at**
 done it= he-has
 'He has done it'

(Conrad and Falconi 2002: 51)

- 4 a **QUESTO** **LIBRO** **ho** **letto** (non **quell'altro**)
 this book I-have read not that-other-one
 'THIS BOOK I read (not the other one)'
 b ***FATTO** **l'** **ha**
 done it= he-has
 'He has DONE it'

¹ In some Italian varieties, namely Sicilian and Triestino, there are fronting phenomena that are similar, but not identical, to our Sardinian constructions (see the chapters by Cruschina and Paoli, this volume).

The chapter is organized as follows: in §2, we present a detailed, mainly descriptive, classification of the relevant data. In §3, we discuss the status of the fronted constituents both in relation to information structure and illocutionary force. In §4, we present an analysis of the data, mostly within the framework of Rizzi (1997). In §5, we provide a summary and a brief outlook.

2. The data

All data considered here come either from the mailing list *Sa-Limba*, which was founded in 1999 and now constitutes a large corpus of conceptually oral data written via the internet (*Sa-Limba* 1999–2006), from primary sources such as novels or from the relevant linguistic literature. Examples for which no reference is given were tested on a sample of speakers via the mailing list.

2.1. *Dislocation phenomena common also to other Romance languages*

If we examine other phenomena that are usually mentioned within the discussion of the left periphery following the work of Rizzi (1997), Sardinian does not diverge from Italian with respect to clitic left-dislocated topics (cf. 5a), right dislocation (cf. 5b) and contrastive focus (cf. 5c):

- 5 a [Una lei po su bilinguismu perfetu cun su castillianu] dha teneis?
 A law for the bilingualism perfect with the Castilian it= you-have?
 ‘Do you have a law for perfect bilingualism with Castilian?’
 (*Sa-Limba* 1999–2006)
- b L’ at mandata, [cudda littera], [Juanne]
 it= he-has sent that letter Juanne
 ‘Juanne sent that letter’
 (Jones 1993: 320)
- c A CASTEDDU soe andadu, no a Nùgoro
 To Cagliari I-am gone not to Nuoro
 ‘I went to CAGLIARI, not Nuoro’

In Sardinian, *wh*-interrogatives also seem to work as in other Romance languages (cf. 6a). This means that the subject cannot be placed between the *wh*-element and the finite verb (cf. 6b):

- 6 a Itt’òmine ses tue?
 what-man are you?
 ‘What man are you?’
 (Deledda and Spiggia 1982: 96)

- b **Kin* kie Juane est issitu?
 with who Juane is gone-out?
 'Who did Juane go out with?'

(Jones 1993: 26)

2.2. *Focus fronting*

The most striking fronting phenomena in Sardinian are found in auxiliary constructions where the predicative element is fronted, whereas the auxiliary, or the auxiliaries, remain in a lower position. These constructions are typical of polar questions (the fronted element appears in *italics*):

- 7 *Mandicatu* as?
 eaten you-have?
 'Have you eaten?'

(Jones 1993: 339)

However, they also readily occur in declarative sentences, as the following examples show.² As for the fronted predicative element, it can be a participle (cf. 8a), an infinitive (cf. 8b)³ or a gerund (cf. 8c), in accordance with the particular auxiliary construction being used:

- 8 a *Furat* su caddu chena bistentu. Bene meda! *Fatu* l' at
 he-steals the horse without delay good very done it= he-has
 'He quickly steals the horse. Very good! He has done it'

(Conrad and Falconi 2002: 51)

- b *Murgher* la cherimus
 milk.inf. her= we-want
 'We want to milk her (= the cow)'

(Corda 1994: 60)

- c *Torrande* sezis?
 coming-back you-are?
 'Are you coming back?'

(Pittau 1991: 142)

In addition, predicative adjective phrases (cf. 9a), predicate nominals (cf. 9b), predicative prepositional phrases (cf. 9c) and adverbials (cf. 9d) can be fronted:

- 9 a [_{AP} *Mellus de nosus*] funti?
 Better of us they-are
 'Are they better than us?'

(Sa-Limba 1999–2006)

² We do not have sufficient data to give reliable judgements concerning subordinate clauses, but see Jones (1993: 349f.) for some examples.

³ According to Jones (1988: 185) and Lőrinczi (1999: 1005), fronting is impossible with *aere a* 'to have to' marking future tense (but cf. Jones 1993; Spano (1840) 1974: 147; Remberger 2006).

- b E custu, sardu est? [*Su sardu ki boleus po su tempus*
and this Sardinian is? the Sardinian that we-want for the time
bennidori] est?
future it-is?
'And is this really Sardinian? Is it the Sardinian language we want in times to come?'
(*Sa-Limba* 1999–2006)

- c *De acordiu* ses cun cussa proposta de arrexonamentu comentu
of agreement you-are with this proposal of argument as
a Ivo?
to Ivo
'Do you agree with this argument like Ivo?'
(*Sa-Limba* 1999–2006)

- d Ello *inoche* sese?
so here you-are
'Are you here?'
(*Puddu* 2000: 664)

Jones (1993: 341) states that when a verbal element is fronted, any direct object NPs (but not those in the prepositional accusative) must always be fronted together with the non-finite V. Thus, the fronted elements can be structurally more complex, such as, for example, a VP with a direct object (cf. 10a–b):

- 10 a [_{VP} *Mandatu sa littera*] appo
sent the letter I-have
'I sent the letter'
(Jones 1993: 338)
- b O Danieli, [_{VP} *circhendi corpus*] ses?
O Danieli looking-for punches you-are?
'O Daniele, are you looking for a fight?'
(*Sa-Limba* 1999–2006)

However, our corpus yielded some counterexamples to Jones' thesis:

- 11 a *Liggiu* as sa proposta de su presidente Carai?
read you-have the proposal of the president Carai?
'Have you read President Carai's proposal?'
(*Sa-Limba* 1999–2006)
- b *Dada* l' ana tottu culthos pannos a samunare.
given her= they-have all these clothes to wash.inf.
'They gave her all the clothes to wash'
(*Archivi del Sud* 1996: 18)

Here, the direct object cannot be argued to be in a right-dislocated position, since there is no resumption via a clitic pronoun. However, the arguments left behind could be argued to be somehow too heavy to be moved along with V. Moreover, VPs can be totally (cf. 12a) or partially fronted (cf. 12b), and, if the predicate itself is not fronted, its complement can be fronted (cf. 12c):

- 12 a [_{VP} *Mortu in s'ispidale*] est?
 died in the-hospital he-is?
 'Did he die in hospital?'

(Blasco Ferrer 1986: 194)

- b *Biende sezis comente si cochet?*
 seeing you-are how one= cooks?
 'Do you see how it is cooked?'

(Deledda and Spiggia 1982: 64)

- c [_{PP} *A Casteddu*] ses andendi?
 to Cagliari you-are going?
 'Are you going to Cagliari?'

(Lepori 2001: 96)

The fact that the interrogative and declarative constructions are closely connected can be seen in the following question-answer pairs (cf. also 1):

- 13 *Manicáu asa? Manicáu appo*
 Eaten you-have Eaten I-have
 'Have you eaten? I have eaten'

(Pittau 1972: 144)

In all these constructions, an overt subject must be in a lower position below the finite auxiliary (cf. 14), a phenomenon well known from questions (cf. 6b, and Rizzi 1991):

- 14 *Mandicatu (*su pitzinnu) at su pitzinnu?*
 eaten the child has the child
 'Has the child eaten?'

However, in Sardinian this property also holds for declaratives: if there is a focus-fronted element, the preverbal subject position is no longer available. In addition, any case of focus fronting automatically inhibits *wh*-elements (which is expected, since *wh*-elements are assumed to occupy the focus position; cf. Rizzi 1997, and Cruschina this volume):⁴

- 15 **Proitte istraccu sese?*
 why tired you-are?
 'Why are you tired?'

(Jones 1993: 339)

⁴ Another interesting interplay can be observed with the Sardinian question particle *a*, which is also located in the left periphery: focus fronting, *wh*-movement, postverbal subjects (and negation) prove impossible with *a* (cf. Jones 1993; Lörinczi 1999; Floricic 2004). Unfortunately, space limitations force us to postpone the description and analysis of polar questions with *a* for future research.

2.3. *Focus fronting and topicalization*

Besides fronted foci, other elements can be left-dislocated by topic movement, often with clitic-left dislocation (CLLD), as in (16a–b). As these examples illustrate, the order that obtains is always Topic + Focus (cf. Jones 1993: 333–4):

- 16 a [Su travallu] *fattu* l' ana?
 the work done it= they-have?
 ‘Have they done the work?’

(Pittau 1972: 143)

- b E [tui] [sa fà] *pappàda* ti *dd'* hasi?
 and you the bean eaten yourself= it= you-have
 ‘And have you eaten the beans?’

(Garau; cf. Lörinczi 1999: 104)

Example (16b) contains both a fronted participle and a topicalized subject, together with another topicalized constituent, showing that topic is a recursive category.

3. **Fronting, sentence force and information structure in Sardinian**

According to traditional Sardinian grammars, the fronting structures in question are often regarded as typical of both interrogative and exclamative sentences. Whereas fronting is a phenomenon very often found in interrogatives, the claim that the non-interrogative examples in §2 might be exclamatives needs to be evaluated. Typical examples defined as ‘exclamatives’ (and often characterized by an exclamation mark) in traditional Sardinian grammars include the following:

- 17 a *Bènniu* *essèrepo*!
 come I-would-be
 ‘I would have come!’

(Pittau 1972: 144)

- b *Su caminu bonu* *pikkes*!
 the way good you-take.subj.
 ‘You should take the right way!’

(Pittau 1972: 144)

- c *Proendi* *esti*!
 raining it-is!
 ‘It is raining!’

(Lepori 2001: 72)

If we examine two current definitions of exclamative sentences, namely the broader definition of Michaelis (2001) and the more narrow definition of

Zanuttini and Portner (2003), it becomes apparent that what both definitions have in common is that they maintain that exclamatives must be factive, insofar as their propositional content is presuppositional. Furthermore, exclamatives often display *wh*-elements. In Sardinian, the following example would be a typical instance of the exclamative type in this sense:

- 18 Itte pache b' aiat in cussos locos!
 what peace there= it-had in these places
 'What peace there was in those places!'

(Deledda and Spiggia 1982: 47)

Exclamations in a very broad sense, corresponding more or less to the definition given by Morel (1995: 651, cited in Michaelis 2001: 1038), are characterized by 'la manifestation linguistique émotionnelle de l'énonciateur', which might be valid for all the examples in (17a–c). However, this does not fit, at least, the linguistic description of exclamatives. Although emotionality is perhaps one criterion, the most important criterion common to Michaelis (2001) and Zanuttini and Portner (2003) is that exclamative sentences emphasize the speaker's emotional reaction to the proposition expressed in the clause, which is presupposed to be true. The constructions under discussion here, such as the examples in (17), are neither factive nor presuppositional. Thus, they are not exclamatives. As has also already been shown in §1, the sentence in (2c) is an information focus construction that functions as the answer to a question, in which the fronted constituent *Tattaresu* 'Sassarese' provides the requested information. This new information cannot be presupposed, and, thus, the sentence is not factive. The factivity criterion virtually excludes all the non-interrogative Sardinian examples under discussion from the group of exclamatives.

Our examples in (17) might be termed exclamations by traditional grammarians, either because they have a special 'exclamative' intonation or because they convey something like surprise. This intonational pattern consists in the fact that in these constructions a focus-fronted element often has primary stress, whereas the rest of the sentence is unstressed (Jones 1993: 332). As Frascarelli (2000: 78) observes for Italian, focalized elements are 'always part of the sentential I [= Intonational Phrase]' and mark 'one of its two boundaries while topic is never included in it'. Whereas in Italian, marking of the first boundary is reserved for contrastive focus, in Sardinian there is no such restriction. Thus, focalized elements in the left periphery that, on the prosodic level, produce a sentence initial pitch-accent are very common in Sardinian.⁵ Probably, this property is

⁵ For the intonation schemata of the Sardinian structures under discussion here, see also Contini (1995: 240, 246).

perceived by the speakers as emphatic or 'exclamative' in a non-linguistic sense.

Summarizing our results so far, we can say that the sentences typically considered as examples of exclamations are usually not exclamations, but, rather, constructions in which an argument, a predicate or part thereof has been focalized. The focalized elements, as has been shown in the data section, can involve all kinds of XP, but also just single non-finite verbal forms or adjectives. The fact that the constructions in question are focus constructions is also highlighted by the question-answer pair given in (13). The function of these answers seems to be to emphasize the truth value of the answer and is thus probably a case of *verum focus* (Höhle 1992; cf. Jones 1993: 356 for a similar view). We take this as further evidence for the fact that the type of fronting we are examining here has to do primarily with focus. This is also valid for the focalized fronted constituents in yes/no-questions that we have seen above. We shall consider this kind of focus to be a case of question focus.⁶ By way of illustration, consider the following examples taken from Jones (1993: 356–7):

- 19 a As telefonatu a su dottore?
 you-have phoned to.acc. the doctor
 'Have you rung the doctor?'
 b *Telefonatu* as a su dottore?
 phoned you-have to.acc. the doctor
 'Have you phoned the doctor?'
 c *A su dottore* as telefonatu ?
 to.acc. the doctor you-have phoned
 'Have you phoned the doctor?'

In (19a) we have a 'normal' canonical question with no focalized element; in (19b) the question focus is constituted by the fronted predicate *telefonatu*, whereas in (19c) it is constituted by the fronted complement *a su dottore*.

One other important fact that is relevant to interrogatives, and probably also declaratives,⁷ in relation to focus fronting concerns their incompatibility with

⁶ More precisely, *narrow* question focus, in contrast to neutral yes/no-questions, which receive a wide-scope focus interpretation (cf. King 1997). For our purposes, 'question focus' is used here as a descriptive label to indicate the context of occurrence (we thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out).

⁷ For the time being, we have no overwhelming negative, but only positive, evidence for this claim. Since we shall not explain the phenomena connected with negation in this chapter, we leave the question open here. More data, however, might show that negation is allowed in certain types of declarative clauses.

negation (cf. 20a). Negated yes/no-questions with focalized elements can only surface in the canonical structure, such as, for example, an intonational question with canonical word order (cf. 20b; see also Lörinczi 1999: 101; Contini 1995: 223–4; Floricic 2004):

- 20 a **Famidu* no ses?
 hungry not you-are
 ‘Are you not hungry?’

(Floricic 2004: 4)

- b Ma tui no ha cenau?
 but you not you-have eaten?
 ‘But haven’t you eaten?’

(Lörinczi 1999: 106)

Thus, it seems to be a particular property of Sardinian that focus movement to the left periphery is somehow closely connected to positive polarity.

Summarizing our results, we can say that the data presented in §2 concern the following sentence types:

- 21 a Positive polar interrogatives with focus fronting
 b Positive declaratives with focus fronting (but cf. note 7)

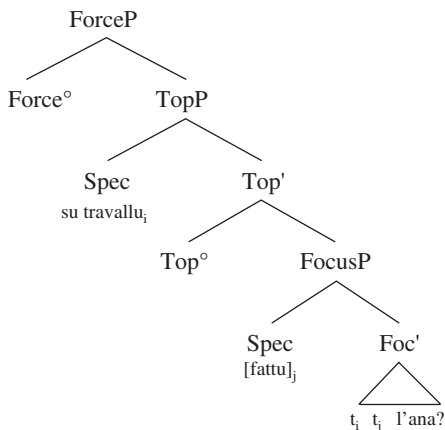
Wh-interrogatives (which can be either negative or positive), as well as the topicalization phenomena exemplified in §2.3, will play a role in our analysis, although they are not the central point of interest in this chapter.

4. **Focus and question marking in Sardinian: a split CP approach**

The constructions under examination are particularly appropriate for an analysis within Rizzi’s (1997) split CP framework, since often more than one constituent appears in the left periphery of the clause (cf. 16a–b). According to Rizzi (1997: 286), the Focus projection, limited to contrastive focus in the usual Romance construction, is nevertheless available for information focus in other languages. We could thus assume the following structure of interrogative clauses with focus fronting (cf. 16a), which would equally be applicable to declaratives:⁸

⁸ Since the aim of this paper is not the investigation of topics, we shall not examine the possibility of a finer-grained cartography, as suggested, for example, by Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004).

22



An important difference between Sardinian and the other Romance languages, and in particular Italian as discussed by Rizzi, is thus that FocP may host information and question focus in Sardinian (in declarative and yes/no-questions, respectively), whereas elsewhere in Romance it is limited to contrastive focus. However, there are also crucial syntactic differences between the two types of focus. Moreover, with respect to the tree in (22) there arise at least two issues. Firstly, we have left open the position of the finite verb or auxiliary. Secondly, for cases like (22), where a non-finite verb has been moved alone, we have to decide whether these are really instances of XP-movement, or whether they are cases of head-movement. In the former case, the construction would be structurally related to the type of VP movement that has been postulated, for example, for similar German structures with participle fronting (cf. Thiersch 1985; den Besten and Webelhuth 1987; Müller 1998). In the latter case, the construction would seem to be similar to an instance of what has been called Romance Long Head Movement (LHM; see Lema and Rivero 1991; Roberts 1993a; 1994). Let us turn first to the issue of the location of the finite verb.

4.1. *On the position of the finite verb/auxiliary*

In §2, we saw that the subject cannot appear between the focalized constituent and the verb. Parallel to the standard approach for the verb position in interrogatives, we take this as evidence for the fact that the finite verb has to move to one of the functional heads below the position of the focalized element. This head could be Foc°, the head of the lower TopP postulated by Rizzi (1997), or Fin°. It would seem, at first sight, and for obvious reasons, that Fin° is a particularly good candidate for the landing site for the finite verb. However, following Rizzi (1997), we should then expect another topic to be able to appear

between the focalized constituent and the finite verb. However, this expectation is not borne out, as the sentence in (23) illustrates:

- 23 **Retzidu* [dae Predu] as su regalu?
 received from Predu you-have the gift
 'Did you receive the gift from Predu?'

The position between the focalized constituent and the finite verb seems to be unavailable to any constituent in general. Now, since the grammaticality judgement in (23) automatically also excludes the lower Top° head, the only possibility is that the finite verb lands in Foc° .⁹ Interestingly, the conclusion that in Sardinian the verb is in Foc° whenever a constituent occupies SpecFocP is in sharp contrast with what Rizzi (1997: 299) notes for Italian: as shown in (24a), the Italian contrastive focus construction is not subject to the adjacency constraint (see also this volume, Cruschina §3.1 and Paoli §4). In contrast, the Sardinian focus construction resembles the situation found in *wh*-questions (cf. 24b):

- 24 a QUESTO Gianni ti dirà (, non quello che pensavi)
 this Gianni you= will-say (, not this that you-thought)
 'Gianni will tell you THIS (not what you thought)'
 b *Che cosa Gianni ti dirà?
 what thing Giann you= will-say
 'What will Gianni tell you?'

Rizzi derives the ungrammaticality of (24b) from the Wh-Criterion in (25):

- 25 Wh-Criterion (Rizzi 1996: 64)
 a A WH Operator must be in a Spec-Head configuration with X° [+ WH];
 b An X° [+ WH] must be in a Spec-Head configuration with a WH Operator.

According to Rizzi (1997), the *wh*-constituent is situated in SpecFocP and the clausal *wh*-feature is generated under T° in Italian main questions, so the Wh-Criterion triggers verb-movement to Foc° . Rizzi also assumes a Focus Criterion, but he proposes that, at least for Italian, 'the Focus feature is inherently possessed by the Foc -head and no movement of an inflectional head is required' (Rizzi 1997: 299).

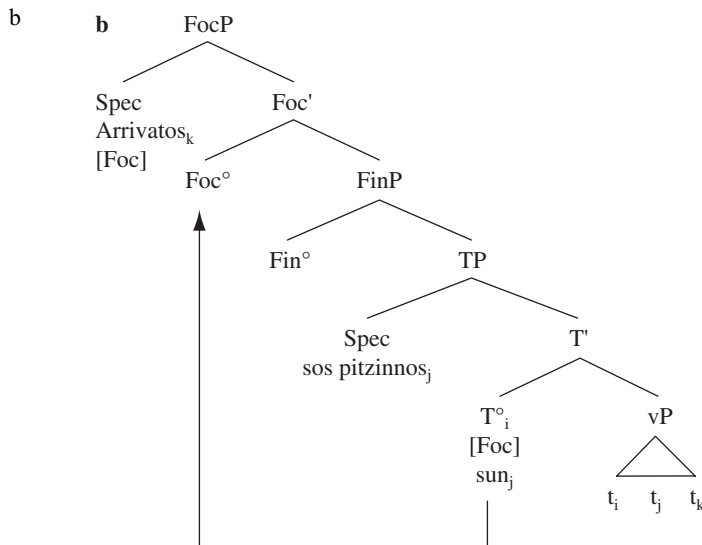
The Sardinian data strongly suggest that the Focus Criterion operates in a similar fashion to the Wh-Criterion. Consequently, we must assume, following the logic of Rizzi's approach, that in Sardinian the clausal focus feature is situated in T° , which is essentially the same approach that Puskás (2000)

⁹ In an approach such as Benincà (2001; 2006) and Benincà and Poletto (2004), we could maintain the idea that the finite verb is in Fin° , thereby producing a strikingly similar structure to the one postulated by Benincà (2006) for Old Romance.

takes for Hungarian. Given the formulation of the Focus Criterion in (26), we shall thus derive a representation parallel to the *wh*-configuration (cf. 27a–b):

- 26 Focus Criterion (adapted from Brody 1990; cf. also Puskás 2000: 73)
- a A FOC Operator must be in a Spec-Head configuration with X° [+ FOC]
 - b An X° [+ FOC] must be in a Spec-Head configuration with a FOC Operator.

- 27 a Arrivatos sun sos pitzinnos
 Arrived they-are the children
 'The children have arrived'



This assumption gives rise to an interesting parameterization within Romance: in most Romance languages a clause is marked for focus within the CP-domain (i.e. a Focus feature in Foc°), whereas in Sardinian it is situated in T° . In addition, the focus feature itself is different, since it is a generalized focus feature that is able to license not only contrastive focus, but also information and question focus.

4.2. *XP-movement vs head-movement*

We now turn to the status of ‘one-word-fronting’ as typically seen with participles, infinitives or gerunds. The results seen so far make head-movement appear impossible in an analysis along the lines of Rizzi (1997): given that Foc° is already the landing site of the finite verb, as seen in §4.1, it cannot also host another head, unless we assume that the focalized head adjoins the verb. We are

nevertheless forced to assume that a focalized non-finite verb or single predicative element is located in the specifier of FocP: Rizzi's Criteria approach itself forces us to make this assumption, since a criterion is always fulfilled in a specifier-head-configuration. As a consequence, examples of the type in (11a–b) or (22) have to be analysed as involving remnant movement, as sketched in (28):

- 28 $[_{\text{FocP}} [_{\text{VP}} t_i \text{ Liggiu } t_k]_j \text{ as}_i \dots [_{\text{XP}} [_{\text{DP}} \text{sa proposta } \dots]_k \dots [_{\text{IP}} \text{pro}_i t_i t_j]]]$

This analysis is similar to the standard analysis for German, according to which the complement of V is scrambled out of the VP and adjoined to TP with fronting of the remnant VP (cf. Müller 1998: 1). It will have to be left to future work to determine whether a landing site similar to the German scrambling position or some other position can really be identified in Sardinian,¹⁰ whether the constituents that leave the VP are right-dislocated, or whether we should find another explanation of how a one-word-constituent can be argued to have undergone XP-movement. Note that at least one piece of evidence adduced by Müller (1998: 8) in favour of a remnant movement approach holds for Sardinian: unlike in Breton, which only allows head-movement of the participle (cf. also Romance LHM above), in Sardinian not only can the participle alone be fronted, but also the whole VP can be fronted, as in German. Finally, it must be observed that whatever the correct analysis for Sardinian, the existing alternative analyses for explaining the phenomenon prove as implausible or as illicit as they are for the corresponding German analysis: such solutions involve X'-movement, movement of heads to specifier positions or the base generation of complements in adjunct positions (cf. Müller 1998: 2).

As an alternative, let us briefly explore a possible minimalist solution. For the sake of simplicity, we still assume a Rizzi-style structure, but appeal to feature checking instead of the Criteria: in the framework of Chomsky (1995), a functional category in the left periphery (let us still call it Foc^o) would bear the clausal [Foc]-feature. This would force the constituent that the speaker wishes to focalize, and which therefore has the same feature, to move to SpecFocP for checking. In this framework, crucially, feature checking could also apply through incorporation within a head. This would immediately account for the cases at issue, if the moved element in (29b) is a head and not a maximal projection:

- 29 a *A su duttore* as telefonatu? (cf. 19b)
 b *Telefonatu* as a su duttore? (cf. 19c)

¹⁰ If it can be shown that Sardinian has remnant movement similar to German without having scrambling, then Müller's (1998: 6) generalization has to be rejected, which states that 'if a language does not exhibit scrambling, it will not exhibit remnant VP topicalization of this type either'.

In (29a) we would have a case of checking under Spec-Head Agreement, whereas in (29b) checking would be performed under head-adjunction. In addition, we would have to assume, following the results of the previous subsection, that the focalized head left-adjoins after T-movement to Foc° . These assumptions can be formalized quite easily by assuming the following feature composition of Foc° for Sardinian, in contrast to a language like Italian:

30 a Sardinian: Foc° : [Foc-strong] [HAF]

b Italian: Foc° : [$\text{CONTRASTIVEFoc-strong}$]

Here, Sardinian Foc° can host a strong generalized focus feature combined with a strong verbal feature (which we call *Head Attraction Feature* (HAF) following Pomino 2005). In Italian, the HAF-feature is missing, and the focus feature, if present, is specialized for contrastive focus.

In conclusion, we may say that the status of the focalized one-word element as an XP or a head is theory-dependent: whereas Rizzi's approach forces us to assume (remnant) XP-movement, an approach in terms of Chomsky (1995) would allow us, in principle, to assume a more 'natural' head-movement solution. In contrast, in Chomsky (2000 and subsequent work), it is argued that movement is generally triggered by a probing process. Accordingly, the goal is attracted to a *specifier* (of a phase head, Chomsky 2005: 16), thus excluding head-movement again.

5. Summary and outlook

We have examined some properties of the left periphery in Sardinian that diverge from those usually assumed for most Romance varieties. According to our analysis, Sardinian focus constructions, both in declarative and interrogative clauses, behave symmetrically with respect to *wh*-constructions, in the sense that the finite verb always moves to Foc° when SpecFocP is filled. In a further contrast to Italian and other Romance languages, the left peripheral FocP may also host any type of focus, usually information focus in declarative sentences and question focus in yes/no-questions.

We also outlined a minimalist implementation of our hypotheses: in terms of the framework of Chomsky (1995), verb-movement to Foc° follows from an independent property of the Focus head, which always comes with a strong verbal feature (HAF). This might prove to be a disadvantage for such an analysis, because the strong-feature approach has less explanatory power in comparison to a Rizzi-style analysis. However, it does have the advantage of explaining the movement of a non-finite verb via head-adjunction, thus eliminating the need to stipulate remnant movement. Finally, a probe-goal approach would be similar to the feature checking-based solution, but with two

exceptions: firstly, verb-movement might possibly turn out to be PF-movement, if Chomsky (2000 and subsequent work) is on the right track, and, secondly and more crucially, it would rule out the head-adjunction solution, since a goal always moves to a specifier position.

One of the remaining issues to be resolved in future research might be whether our view of question focus could or should be syntactically formalized in some way, for example, by postulating that the focalized constituent checks a [Q]-feature, if present, along with the [Foc]-feature, as suggested in Mensching (1998). The answer to this question will depend on the choice of a specific theory in relation to the existence or status of such [Q]-features and their interplay with focalization and intonation.¹¹ Another important aspect that we have not discussed concerns the observation that the focus constructions that we have mostly considered here are not compatible with negation. If such incompatibility really holds for both declarative and interrogative focus constructions, it should be a property of FocP rather than of interrogative clauses. Such a restriction, either for FocP itself or for focus movement, would not be implausible, since we find several cases of incompatibility of focus and negation in the literature (cf. especially Floricic 2004). Whatever the correct analysis may turn out to be, the interplay between focus and polarity in Sardinian certainly deserves further detailed investigation.

¹¹ For instance, Rizzi (2001) assumes that a specifier in the left periphery contains an empty question operator in interrogative sentences involving standard Romance inversion structures. Within such a framework, one might explore whether a focus-fronted constituent in Sardinian can function as an overt analogue to such an operator.

15 In focus: an investigation of information and contrastive constructions

Sandra Paoli

1. Introduction

Sicilian and Sardinian are traditionally known for their use of constituent fronting to highlight the new informational nucleus of the sentence.¹ As the following Sardinian examples taken from Jones (1993: 17–18, 338) illustrate, a variety of phrases (henceforth given in bold) can occupy this position, including direct (cf. 1a) or prepositional (cf. 1b) objects, predicative complements (cf. 1c), and participial (cf. 1d) and infinitival (cf. 1e) VPs governed by an auxiliary:

- 1 a **Cussu libru** appo lessu
this book I-have read
'I have read this book'
- b **Supra sa mesa** l' appo postu
over the table it= I-have put
'I have put it on top of the table'
- c **Troppo grassu** est
too fat he-is
'He is too fat'
- d **Andato a Nùgoro** est
gone to Nuoro he-is
'He has gone to Nuoro'
- e **Dormire** keljo
sleep.inf. I-want
'I want to sleep'

The sentences in (1) are answers to the questions, '*What have you read?*', '*Where have you put it?*', '*What does he look like?*', '*Where is he?*' and '*What do you want?*' respectively. The fronted constituents do not carry the

¹ I am grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their comments and, in particular, their views on the notion of a 'hybrid' category. In the proposed analysis, I have taken into account their observations. The usual disclaimers apply.

intonational contour typical of contrastively focalized material; they bear primary stress, leaving the 'core' of the sentence unstressed, as simplified in (2), adapted from Jones (1993: 332):

2 Cussu libru appo lessu

Pragmatically, too, they are different, as they simply express 'the part of the sentence which is new or particularly noteworthy' (Jones 1993: 18).

Now, in Italian this type of fronting is not the unmarked choice: the word order in which a constituent other than the subject precedes the verb is a strategy employed to give discourse prominence to that particular constituent. This is the case for left-dislocated (cf. 3a), hanging topic (cf. 3b) and contrastive focus (cf. 3c) constructions:²

- 3 a La casa, la vado a vedere oggi
 the house it= I-go to see.inf. today
 'As for the house, I am going to see it today'
- b La casa, non ne parla più nessuno
 the house not of-it= he-speaks any more nobody
 'The house, nobody speaks about it any more'
- c LA CASA vado a vedere oggi non l'appartamento
 the house I-go to see.inf. today not the-flat
 'It is the house that I am going to see today, not the flat'

In Italian, old information (underlined in the following examples) tends to occur sentence initially, while new information (in bold) preferably occupies a sentence-final position, complying with the convention that in a sentence with unmarked word order the new follows the old:

- 4 a Sp. A: **Che cosa** mangiamo oggi?
 what thing we-eat today
 'What are we having today?'
- b Sp. B: (***Pasta e fagioli**) Oggi mangiamo **pasta e fagioli**
 pasta and beans today we-eat pasta and beans
 'Today we are having pasta and beans'

It appears that Italian does not allow the type of fronting that we witness in Sardinian and Sicilian, and elements expressing new information must occur postverbally (cf. 4b). This was not the case in earlier stages of Italo-Romance, as the following examples demonstrate in which the postverbal argument occurs in sentence-initial position:

² Henceforth, left-dislocated and hanging topics are underlined and contrastive foci appear in small caps.

- 5 a **cotanto** vi dico
 so-much to-you= I-say
 'so much I say to you'

(OTusc. *Novellino* 2.18)

- b **Una fertra** fei lo reis Salomon... **Las colones** fei d'argent
 a sedan-chair made the king Salomon the columns he-made of-silver
 e **l'apoail** fei d'or
 and the-support he-made of-gold
 'King Salomon made a sedan chair... The columns he made of silver and the support he made of gold'

(OPied., *Sermoni subalpini*, V)

- c **Ço** dis-el plusor fiade
 that said=he several times
 'This he said several times'

(OVen., *Atti del Podestà di Lio Mazor*, 1t, 61)

The context provided for the fronted elements in (5) does not allow for a contrastive reading: they simply express new information. Benincà and Poletto (2004: 62) observe that the information focus (IFoc) position is not wholly unavailable in Italian, but can be accessed in the presence of a contrastively focalized phrase, as the following example shows:

- 6 A GIANNI, **questo libro**, dovremmo dare
 to Gianni this book we-should give.inf.
 'It is TO GIANNI that we should give this book'

Northern Italian dialects in general follow Italian in not admitting fronted elements that express new information – witness the following Piedmontese example where the informationally new object (*ĕ*) *l pom* 'the apple' occurs in the postverbal position:

- 7 a Sp. A: **Lòn ch' a** mangia ěl cit?
 what that scl.3sg.= he-eats the child
 'What is the child eating?'
 b Sp. B: (***Ěl pom**) A mangia 'l pom
 the apple scl.3sg.= he-eats the apple
 'He eats the apple'

Triestino,³ a north-eastern dialect that belongs to the Venetan type, does not pattern with the rest of the North with respect to this type of information focus fronting. On the surface, it behaves in a similar way to Sardinian and Sicilian in allowing the fronting of constituents that express new information (cf. 8b):

³ All the Triestino data presented in the present article have been personally collected by the author. It is with great gratitude that I thank my informants, Aldo Paoli and Mariuccia Cutazzo.

- 8 a Sp. A: **Dove** 'ndè ogi?
 where you-go today
 'Where are you going today?'
 b Sp. B: (**Al bagno**) 'Ndemo (**al bagno**)
 to-the seaside we-go to-the seaside
 'We are going to the seaside'

In this chapter we shall investigate the syntactic and pragmatic characteristics of the fronted elements of the type exemplified in (8b). Although they closely resemble Sicilian and Sardinian cases of IFoc, they are not an expression of new information alone, as will be demonstrated below. Henceforth, we shall provisionally label this phenomenon 'T[riestino]F[ronting]', deferring a more specific definition until §4.⁴ Our aim is twofold. At an empirical level, we present new data that reveal interesting and unsuspected parallels, as well as differences, between Triestino on the one hand and Sardinian and Sicilian on the other. At a theoretical level, we attempt to unravel the complexities of the Focus field, making a contribution to the understanding of the way contrastive and information foci are expressed at the syntactic level. The chapter is organized as follows. After an outline of Triestino word order in §2, we sketch in §3 a partial mapping of the left periphery in Triestino. Finally, §4 presents our proposed analysis of TF.

2. Word order in Triestino

The organization of the elements in main, declarative clauses in Triestino does not differ from that of Standard Italian: the natural position for a verbal complement is postverbal, and the subject of transitive verbs, when present, occurs preverbally. Consequently, inthetic sentences (in answer to the question '*What happened?*'), both Triestino (cf. 9a) and Standard Italian (cf. 9b) present SVO word order:

- 9 a Sp. B: Mama meti a sugar le straze
 mum puts to dry.inf. the clothes
 b Sp. B: La mamma mette ad asciugare la biancheria
 the mum puts to dry.inf. the clothes
 'Mum is putting the washing out'

In response to the same question, an answer in which the object is fronted proves unacceptable in both varieties:

⁴ In all the following examples, we continue to identify these fronted constituents in Triestino with bold type.

- 10 a Sp. B: ***Le straze** (la) meti a sugar mama
 the clothes scl.3f.sg.= puts to dry.inf. mum
- b Sp. B: ***La biancheria** mette ad asciugare la mamma
 the clothes she-puts to dry.inf. the mum

Rather transparently, the underlying, canonical word order in Triestino is SVO. The XV order in which an element other than the subject is fronted is therefore not the canonical one and involves a position within the left periphery of the clause.

3. Left-peripheral elements in Triestino

The left periphery of Triestino parallels its Italian counterpart, accommodating both left-dislocated and contrastively focalized elements. The two are not subject to a rigid ordering, such that Topic must necessarily precede Focus (cf. Benincà and Poletto 2004), but show flexibility, as predicted in Rizzi's (1997) analysis. In what follows, we concentrate mainly on focalized elements.

3.1. Contrastive focus and TF: characteristics

Sentence-initial contrastively focused phrases are characterized by a low-high-low intonational pattern, as sketched in (11b):

- 11 a Sp. A: Ghe cavo le braghe al picio?
 to-him= I-remove the trousers to-the child
 'Am I taking the child's trousers off?'
- b Sp. B: LE SCARPE te ghe devi cavar, no le braghe
 / \ / \
 the shoes scl.2sg.= to-him= you-must remove.inf. not the trousers
 'It's his shoes that you need to remove from him, not his trousers'

As for TF (cf. discussion of (8) above), this can involve a number of constituents, including APs (cf. 12a) and AdvPs (cf. 12b), as well as heavy DP subjects (cf. 12c).⁵

⁵ Whole clauses may equally undergo TF, but the resulting word order is not completely acceptable:

- i a Sp. A: **Quando** te vegnarà a trovarne?
 when scl.2sg.= you-will-come to see.inf.=us
 'When are you coming to see us?'
- b Sp. B: ?**Co sarò in ferie** vegnarò
 when I-will-be in holiday I-will-come
 'I'll come when I'm on holiday'

It is possible that in these cases there is a preference for heavy constituents to be placed at the end rather than at the beginning of the clause. We do not pursue the issue further here, but simply note that this counts as an additional difference between TF and Sardinian and Sicilian IFoc.

- 12 a Sp. A: **Come** xe la pìcia? Sp. B: **Bela** la xe
 how is the child beautiful scl.3f.sg.= is
 ‘What is the child like?’ – ‘She is beautiful’
- b Sp. A: **Come** xe casa? Sp. B: **Ben** xe
 how is home good it-is
 ‘How are things at home?’ – ‘Things are good’
- c Sp. A: **Chi** xe al telefono? Sp. B: **La signora del pian de soto** xe
 who is at-the phone the lady of-the floor of below is
 ‘Who is on the phone?’ – ‘It’s the lady from downstairs’

Quantified elements can also undergo TF – witness (13):

- 13 Sp. A: **Chi** te ga visto oggi? Sp. B: **Nissun** no go visto
 who scl.2sg.= you-have seen today nobody not I-have seen
 ‘Who did you see today?’ – ‘I didn’t see anybody’

Turning now to embedded clauses, when the fronted element originates in the embedded clause it can target a position either in the embedded or the matrix left periphery (cf. 14b):

- 14 a Sp. A: **Dove** i disi che sia meo ciorghè el regalo?
 where scl.3pl.= they-say that it-is better buy.inf.=him the present
 ‘Where do they say it’s best to get him the present?’
- b Sp. B: (**Da Monti**) Se pensava che (**da Monti**) i gavessi meo roba
 at Monti self= thought that at Monti scl.3pl.= had better stuff
 ‘We were thinking that Monti would have better things’

The availability of both positions seems to be affected by the type of selecting verb: while a bridge verb like *pensar* ‘to think’ in (14) licenses both matrix and embedded focus positions as a landing site for TF, non-bridge verbs such as *preocuparse* ‘to worry’ do not readily license the embedded position:

- 15 a Sp. A: **Cossa** te preocupa che la se cioghi tua sorela?
 what you= worries that scl.3f.sg.= self= buys your sister
 ‘What are you worried that your sister will buy for herself?’
- b Sp. B: **Una pelicia** me preocupa che (?**una pelicia**) la se
 a fur me= worries that a fur scl.3f.sg.= self=
 cioghi
 buys
 ‘I’m worried that she will buy herself a fur coat’

The same restriction does not apply, however, to contrastively focused phrases that can target both the matrix and embedded left periphery in conjunction with both bridge and non-bridge verbs (see also Cruschina, this volume, §3.3):

- 16 (DA Monti) se pensava che (DA Monti) i gavessi meio roba, no
 at Monti self= thought that at Monti scl.3pl.= had better stuff not
 al'Emporio
 at-the-Emporio
 'It is AT MONTI's that we thought they had better things, not at the Emporio'

Bridge and non-bridge verbs are analysed in the literature as selecting slightly different embedded clauses (see, among others, Benincà and Poletto 2004: 61): the CP embedded under a bridge verb projects a 'fuller' CP with the entire range of left-peripheral positions, while the structure embedded under a non-bridge verb appears 'poorer', offering a restricted range of positions.

3.2. *Towards an analysis*

Considering the characteristics of TF, we see that the fronted element is focalized. This conclusion is based on a number of observations:

- 17 i. the fronted element represents the narrow focus of the sentence:
 Sp. A: **Come** te li vol i fasoi? Sp. B: **In tecia** i
 how scl.2sg.= them= you-want the beans in pan scl.3pl.=
 me piasì
 to-me= please
 'How do you want your beans?' – 'I like them cooked in the pan'
- ii. in the case of a fronted direct object, resumptive clitics are not allowed:
- 18 Sp. A: **Chi** te ga visto? Sp. B: **El mato del pian de soto**
 who scl.2sg.= you-have seen the guy of-the floor of below
 (*lo) go visto
 him= I-have seen
 'Who did you see?' – 'I saw the guy from downstairs'
- iii. the fronted element is subject to weak crossover constraints, which typically affect focalized elements (Rizzi 1997), such that in (19) *sua* 'his' cannot be co-indexed with *Mario*:
- 19 *A **Mario_i** ghe ga scritto sua_i mama
 to Mario to-him= has written his mum
 'His_i (i.e. Mario's) mum has written to Mario_i'

Furthermore, these are not instances of contrastive focus, since they surface in different pragmatic environments, insofar as they are not uttered to correct a previous assertion, and since they display distinct prosodic features (high-low as opposed to low-high-low), as sketched in (20a–b):

- 20 a **Al** **mercato** lo go ciolto
 \ /
 at-the market it= I-have bought
 'I bought it at the market'
- b **AL** **MERCATO** go ciolto sto vestito, no in negozio
 / \ /
 at-the market I-have bought this dress not in shop
 'It's at the market that I bought this dress, not in a shop'

In spite of this admittedly impressionistic representation of the respective intonational patterns, the lack of the rise-fall intonation on the fronted phrase in (20a) is immediately apparent. We now turn to investigate the way TF interacts with the other constituents found in the left periphery and establish their relative order.

3.2.1. *Interaction of left-peripheral elements* The co-occurrence in preverbal position of left-dislocated topics and TF is difficult to elicit, since old information (cf. *sti funghi* 'these mushrooms' below) is not naturally reproduced in the answer (cf. (21b) that proves the most natural answer to question (21a)). If they do co-occur, the order TF > left-dislocated topic is judged ungrammatical (cf. 21b'), whereas the reverse order produces a clear improvement in acceptability (cf. 21b''):

- 21 a Sp. A: **Come** te li fa sti funghi?
 how scl.2sg.= them= you-do these mushrooms
 'How are you cooking these mushrooms?'
- b Sp. B: **In** **tecia** li fazo (*sti funghi*)
 in pan them= I-do these mushrooms
- b' Sp. B: ?***In** **tecia** *sti funghi* li fazo
 in pan these mushrooms them= I-do
- b'' Sp. B: *Sti funghi* **in** **tecia** li fazo
 these mushrooms in pan them= I-do
 'I am cooking them in the pan'

Matching these results in relation to the available positions of the left periphery, we can conclude that there is a Top position and, to its right, another one that can host TF.

Now, contrastively focused elements and TF can co-occur sentence-initially according to the order CFoc > TF (cf. 22a). If the order is reversed, a resumptive clitic is necessary (22b), suggesting that the element preceding the CFoc is a left-dislocated topic, rather than a focalized element. The position to the right of CFoc is also compatible with a resumptive clitic (cf. 22c), suggesting once again that it too can host a left-dislocated phrase:

- 22 a A MARIO **ste robe** te ghe dirà, no a mi
 to Mario these things scl.2sg.= to-him= you-will-say not to me
 'It's MARIO that you will say these things to, not me'
- b Ste robe A MARIO te ghe *(le) dirà, no a mi
 these things to Mario scl.2sg.= to-him *(them=) will-say not to me
- c A MARIO ste robe te ghe le dirà, no a mi⁶

Finally, if the left periphery hosts three preverbal phrases, we note once again that an element following CFoc (*ste robe* 'these things' below) can be interpreted either as TF (without a resumptive clitic) or as a left-dislocated topic (with a resumptive clitic):

- 23 A Mario, DOMAN ste robe te ghe (le) disi, no la
 to Mario tomorrow these things scl.2sg.= to-him= (them=) you-say not the
 prosima settimana
 next week
 'As for Mario, you'll tell him these things TOMORROW, not next week'

Let us now finally turn to the compatibility of TF with preverbal subjects. As in other Venetan dialects (cf. Benincà 2001: 56), subject clitics in Triestino co-occur with a subject when this is left- or right-dislocated (cf. 24a) and optionally when it has undergone TF (cf. 24b). Contrastively focused preverbal subjects, by contrast, produce degraded, though not ungrammatical, results in conjunction with subject clitics (cf. 24c):

- 24 a (Toni) *(el) legi el giornal tuti i giorni (, Toni)
 Toni scl.3m.sg.= reads the newspaper all the days Toni
 'Toni reads the newspaper every day'
- b Sp. A: **Chi** ziga de là? Sp. B: **El picio** (el) ziga
 who screams from there the child scl.3.m.sg.= screams
 'Who is screaming in there?' – 'The child is screaming'
- c GIOVANA (?la) ghe ciogherà un libro, no Maria
 Giovana scl.3.f.sg.= to-him= will-buy a book not Maria
 'It's GIOVANNA who will buy him a book, not Maria'

Consequently, the presence of a subject clitic does not necessarily indicate that the preverbal subject is left-dislocated, but simply implies that it occurs in a non-canonical position, whereas ungrammatical omission of the subject clitic indicates that the subject is left-dislocated. Now, when occurring to the right of TF, preverbal subjects can occur both with and

⁶ Pragmatically speaking, there is no substantial difference between the contexts in which (22a) and (22c) can be uttered. Informants feel that in (22c) the dislocated phrase *ste robe* 'these things' refers to a specific set of things that have been enumerated, whereas in (22a) *ste robe* 'these things' is said to refer to a set of items that have not been individually identified.

without a subject clitic, inconclusively suggesting two possible interpretations of the subject *mia mama* ‘my mum’ in (25b): (i) it is left-dislocated (obligatory resumptive subject clitic); (ii) it is in SpecTP (no resumptive subject clitic).

25 a Sp. A: Cossa (la) cucina tua mama per cena?
 what scl.3f.sg.= cooks your mum for dinner
 ‘What is your mum cooking for dinner?’

b Sp. B: **Fasoi** mia mama (la) cucina
 beans my mum scl.f.sg.= cooks
 ‘She’s cooking beans’

We can therefore recognize the partial map of the Triestino left periphery sketched in (26):

26 Left-dislocated Topic > CFoc > TF > Left-dislocated Topic

In the light of the above evidence, we can conclude that there seems to be a preference for contrastively focalized elements to appear to the right of dislocated phrases, and for TF to follow contrastively focalized phrases. The area to the right of TF can host left-dislocated topics. When interpreted in relation to Rizzi’s (1997) proposed map of the left periphery, which allows for the recursion of the Top position assumed to exist both above and under the Foc position, and that of Benincà and Poletto (2004), which only posits a single Topic field above the Focus field, the data at hand suggest a degree of flexibility between the two fields in terms of a less rigid division between Topic and Focus than that assumed in Benincà and Poletto (2004).

3.3. Conclusion

In this section we have investigated the characteristics of TF and the dynamics of its interaction with other left-peripheral elements. This has allowed us to plot various positions in the Triestino left periphery with the following findings:

- i. A variety of phrases can undergo TF.
- ii. When the fronted element originates in an embedded clause, it can target either a position in the left periphery of the main clause or, if selected by a bridge verb, also a position in the left periphery of the embedded clause.
- iii. There are (at least) two types of foci in Triestino.
- iv. The position to the right of TF can host left-dislocated elements.
- v. TF is compatible with preverbal subjects.

4. Interpreting TF

The previous section has concluded that instances of TF are focalized, but are not to be considered cases of CFoc. In the literature, two types of focus have been recognized: contrastive and information focus. Kiss (1995b; 1998), among others, drawing on Hungarian and English data, systematically distinguished the two in terms of both semantic and syntactic properties. Semantically, CFoc (also termed identificational focus) refers to the exhaustive subset of a set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate holds; syntactically, it acts as an operator, moving into a scope position and binding a variable. IFoc, on the other hand, simply conveys new information and does not have any operator-like properties, not being associated with movement. However, this generalization does not seem to hold cross-linguistically: in Italian, IFoc is subject to weak crossover effects, suggesting that it is indeed subject to movement (see, among others, also Frascarelli 2000).

Lonzi (in press) challenges this view with the proposal that the difference between CFoc and IFoc is encoded by means of prosody. In her analysis, contrastivity is a property that belongs to the realm of prosody and not narrow syntax proper. Her main argument relies on the distinction between ‘marked intonation’ and ‘contrastivity’, and between ‘emphasis’ and ‘marked stress’, inasmuch as there is no one-to-one matching between marked intonation and contrastive interpretation. Instead, she proposes a space within the left periphery dedicated to ‘generalized’ focus phrases. Hence, according to her analysis, the contrastive reading obtains at the interface with the prosodic level and does not require syntactic movement. This idea is very appealing, as it limits syntactic encoding to the focal character of an element, leaving its pragmatically established contrastive interpretation to the prosodic level.

Above we saw that one of the main features distinguishing TF from CFoc in Triestino is, indeed, the intonational pattern. We have therefore been assuming that TF, since it does not exhibit the prosodic properties associated with contrastive stress, represents a different type of focus. Indeed, these fronted elements signal the communication of new information and could therefore be equated with the frequent constituent fronting found in Sardinian and Sicilian varieties (cf. Jones 1993; Cruschina 2005; Bentley 2007), standardly identified as instances of IFoc. Furthermore, just like Sardinian and Sicilian, Triestino only allows one such informationally focused element in any one sentence: this comes as no surprise, given that multiple *wh*-questions, which constitute the context that could potentially elicit more than one new information focus in the answer, are illicit in Triestino. Finally, in all three Romance varieties these fronted elements share the same prosodic properties (falling intonation), lack resumptive clitics when they assume the direct object function and license weak crossover effects.

The fronting construction in Triestino is, however, different from the other two Romance varieties, in that it does not exhibit the same degree of freedom in the elements that can be fronted (cf. note 5). It was also shown that TF can co-occur with contrastive focus and preverbal subjects (cf. this volume, Cruschina §3.1, and Mensching and Remberger §4.1). Furthermore, unlike in Sardinian and Sicilian (though see Cruschina, this volume, §2.1), TF is not the unmarked option to structure the answer to a previous question in which the fronted element expresses the new information sought. To the question in (27a), both (27b) and (27b') are possible answers:

27 a Sp. A: Dove te ciol el pesse?
 where scl.2.sg.= you-buy the fish
 'Where do you buy your fish?'

b Sp. B: Lo ciogo **al molo Audace**
 it= I-buy at-the harbour Audace
 'I buy it at the Audace harbour'

b' Sp. B: **Al molo Audace** lo ciogo
 at-the harbour Audace it= I-buy

In what ways are (27b) and (27b') different, then? In the latter, the speaker places some emphasis on the location where the fish is bought. Clearly, there is no overt contrast, in the sense that no other place in which B buys the fish has been introduced and is therefore present in the discourse. Additionally, the question uttered by A is a genuine request for information. There seems to be, nevertheless, a degree of contrast, or an element of 'unexpectedness': by placing *molo Audace* 'Audace harbour' at the beginning of the sentence, A signals their belief that the information they are providing will come as a surprise to B (unexpected because A does not usually buy their fish there, or maybe because, for example, in the past A criticized Audace harbour for not having good-quality fish). It therefore seems that the fronted phrase encodes features that pertain to both types of focus: it clearly expresses new information, but simultaneously conveys an implicit sense of contrast ('implicit' in the sense that it is not contrasted to something overtly present in the existing discourse). Drawing on these facts, TF appears to be a *hybrid* category, marrying together characteristics of both new information and contrastivity.

Crucially, however, if the phrase were simply an expression of new information, it would not be licensed sentence-initially: this implies that it is its contrastive character that determines its presence in the left periphery. This particular property makes it problematic to accept Lonzi's analysis, since in Triestino there seems to be a syntactic feature [+contr.] that triggers movement to a sentence-initial position. In this respect, it is instructive to observe, following Bentley (2007: 53), from which the following examples are taken

(see also Cruschina, this volume, §3.1), that contrastive focus (cf. 28c), unlike information focus (cf. 28b), in Sicilian can be separated from the verb. From this, it is immediately apparent that the element expressing contrastive focus occupies a higher position than the one encoding new information, representing a further challenge to Lonzi's account:

- 28 a Sp. A: **Chi** cci ricisti a tò niputi?
 what to-them= you-said to your nephews
 'What did you say to your nephews?'
- b Sp. B: **A virità** (*a mè niputi) cci rissi
 the truth (*to my nephews) to-them= I-said
 'I told them the truth'
- c NA LITTRA, a Pina, cci scrissi (no nu pizzinu)
 a letter to Pina to-her= I-wrote (not a card)
 'It's a letter that I wrote to Pina, not a card'

The very existence of such a hybrid element is problematic for the existing theory, as we are faced with having to accommodate a type of focus that is simultaneously informational and contrastive. Molnár (1998), in her investigation of contrastive topics, proposes an analysis of topic and focus in which the two are neither categorically separate and distinct from one another, nor uniform concepts. Rather, they are seen as the result of the combination of prosodic, pragmatic and syntactic features, the interplay of which gives rise to a complex and hybrid set of elements that are simultaneously topic and focus. In a similar vein, there has been a recent surge in interest in gradient phenomena in the formal aspects of language (cf., among others, Sorace 2000; Fanselow, Féry, Schlesewsky and Vogel 2006), the origins of which can be traced back to Chomsky (1955) and Bolinger (1961), who acknowledged the existence, respectively, of degrees of grammaticality, and of the frequent lack of a clear-cut division between grammatical categories. Now, we have seen that in both Italian and Triestino IFoc and CFoc are subject to the same type of syntactic restrictions and that their differences can be interpreted within the discourse context. Furthermore, their corresponding projections lie within the same syntactic space, namely, the Focus field (cf. Benincà and Poletto 2004). We thus propose that the hybrid nature of TF is the result of the interaction of the pragmatic factors that play a role in the characterization of the two types of focus. More specifically, we claim that contrastivity can be captured in terms of gradience and that its interaction with newness of information yields a number of combinations that are not purely informational or contrastive in nature, but, rather, hybrid categories.

This is simply a sketch of how such hybrid categories are derived, which relies on the existence of the following features:

- [new inf] (asserts the existence of X as new information): ‘What did you buy?’ – ‘I bought A NEWSPAPER’
- [overt contr] (offers a new interpretation for a variable X that contrasts with another value already assigned to it in the discourse): ‘It’s THIS LETTER that you should have sent, not the other one’
- [implicit contr] (asserts a value for X that contrasts with assumptions/beliefs present in both the participants’ minds but not overtly present in the discourse): ‘(Imagine,) I met her at the TRAIN STATION’ – she does not usually travel by train
- [no contr] (no contrast is expressed).⁷

The combination of these factors yields the following three categories:

- 1 IFoc: purely new information – [new inf]; [no contr]
- 2 Foc: overtly contrastive – [overt contr]
- 3 Hybrid: non-overt contrast – [new info]; [implicit contr]

This third type is the formal representation of the fronted phrases we have been investigating in Triestino, which places it between the IFoc and CFoc types both in terms of feature specification and space (if we assume a syntactic structure that mirrors the scale on which IFoc and CFoc represent the end points low and high, respectively).

The fact that there does not seem to be a position available for the hybrid category of fronted elements in ‘reduced CPs’ selected by non-bridge verbs may suggest that such a position is not constantly accessible: it is not dependent on the Focus field having already been activated by CFoc and is available only in a full CP. Our interpretation of a ‘reduced’ CP is a CP in which only the cardinal, primary values are expressed and available as syntactic positions, much along the lines of the Force-Finiteness minimal articulation which excludes Topic and Focus as suggested by Rizzi (1997). In such a reduced CP, only CFoc (and possibly IFoc, depending on the specification of the individual language) would find expression.

Finally, an observation on cross-linguistic variation. While in Sicilian and Sardinian CFoc and IFoc are not compatible, possibly suggesting that they may be competing for the same position, in Triestino CFoc and the hybrid fronted category can co-occur. Furthermore, it seems that it is the [contr] specification,

⁷ Another interesting example of implicit contrast is represented by cases in which the information sought is so obvious that it should not require overt mention: ‘What are you fishing for? – FISH, I’m fishing for (can’t you see?/what else do you use a fishing rod for?)’ Nicola Munaro (p.c.) points out that in these cases in Standard Italian the verb is repeated:

i *Pesco pesci pesco!*
 I-fish fishes I-fish
 ‘I’m fishing for fish!’

irrespective of whether overt or covert, that triggers movement in Triestino (and possibly Standard Italian too), while both [new inf] and [contr] can determine movement in Sicilian and Sardinian. Perhaps the availability of such permutations is encoded parametrically, a hypothesis that can be evaluated only through further cross-linguistic investigations.

5. Conclusions

We have adduced evidence for a hybrid focus category sharing features of IFoc and CFoc. We have suggested that contrastivity might be a matter of degree and have shown, by decomposing the two types of focus into primary features and combining these, how we can obtain a number of projections (in this case, three, but potentially more): the two ‘cardinal’ projections CFoc and IFoc at each end and a (number of) hybrid one(s) between them. Further cross-linguistic research into the nature of the hybrid type of focus described here, and more generally into how gradience of this type can be encoded and expressed at the structural level, is necessary.

16 Criterial conditions for *wh*-structures: evidence from *wh*-exclamatives in northern Italian dialects

Nicola Munaro

1. **Introduction**

Within the theoretical perspective of an articulated left periphery, the main aim of this chapter is to show that *wh*-constituents in exclamative clauses may have as their first target the specifier of FocP. In (1), I report the split-CP hypothesis proposed by Rizzi (1997), who identifies the specifier position of FocP as the target of *wh*-items in *wh*-questions:

1 ForceP > TopP > FocP > TopP > FinP

The basic architecture of the fine structure of the left periphery that will be assumed in this chapter is that formulated in Rizzi (1997), and revised in Benincà (2001) and in Benincà and Poletto (2004).¹

The chapter is structured as follows: §2 focuses on the relative order of *wh*-phrases and left-dislocated constituents, and, more specifically, on Benincà's (2001) proposal that *wh*-phrases in main exclamatives target a landing site that is not activated in main *wh*-interrogatives, namely, the specifier of ForceP; §3 analyses contrastively some data concerning complex and bare *wh*-phrases in Paduan and Bellunese, showing that bare *wh*-items have a lower target than complex ones; §4 discusses some data from Lombard dialects suggesting that FocP might be viewed as the first target of the moved constituent in exclamative clauses, and §5 adds some evidence from Standard Italian in favour of this hypothesis; finally, in §6, through an overview of data from various northern Italian dialects, it will be proposed that the Focus head is subject to a diachronic condition affecting its visibility in overt syntax.

¹ Previous versions of this work were presented at *ICLaVE III* in Amsterdam in June 2005, at the *Workshop on the Left Periphery* in Paris in November 2005, at the research seminar in Venice in January 2006, at the *XII Giornata di Dialettologia* in Padua in June 2006 and at the first *CIDSM* in Cambridge on 21–22 April 2006. I thank the audiences at those meetings, and an anonymous reviewer, for constructive criticism and helpful remarks.

2. Interrogative vs exclamative *wh*-phrases in a split CP

Based on data from Paduan and Standard Italian, Benincà (1996) establishes a hierarchy in which the exclamative phrase is followed by a left-dislocated phrase, which is followed, in turn, by an interrogative phrase. The following contrast in grammaticality from Paduan shows that in both main and embedded questions the *wh*-phrase obligatorily follows a left-dislocated constituent:

- 2 (**A chi*) to sorela, *a chi* ghe la ga-li presentà?
to who your sister to who cl.dat.= her= they-have=scl.3pl. presented
'Your sister, who did they introduce her to?'
- 3 Dime (**a chi* che) to sorela, *a chi* che i ghe la gà
tell=me to who that your sister to who that scl.3pl.=cl.dat.= her= have
presentà
presented
'Tell me who they introduced your sister to'

In the northern Italian dialects displaying subject clitic inversion in main interrogatives, the syntactic hallmark characterizing *wh*-exclamatives is (the absence of inversion and) the presence of the complementizer *che*.

The following contrast in Paduan shows that an exclamative *wh*-phrase, but not an interrogative one, can precede the left-dislocated constituent:

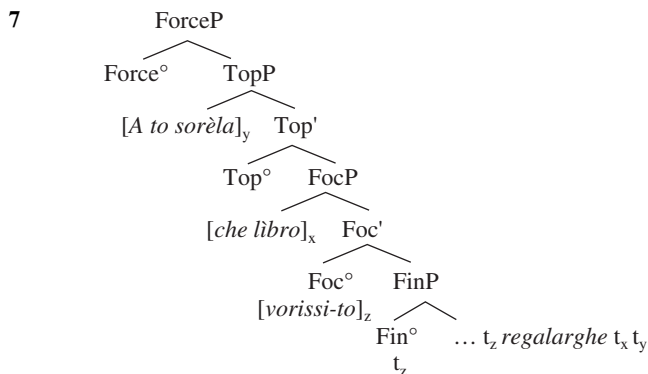
- 4 a A to sorela, *che libro* vorissito regalarghe?
to your sister what book you-would-like give.inf.=to-her
'To your sister, which book would you like to give her as a present?'
- b (Te dovarissi vedare) *che bel libro*, a to sorela, *che i*
scl.2sg.= should see.inf. what fine book to your sister that scl.3pl.=
ghe ga regalà!
to-her=have given
'(You should see) what an interesting book they've given your sister as a gift!'

The same kind of ordering restriction is attested in Milanese, as shown by the following examples from Vai (2000):

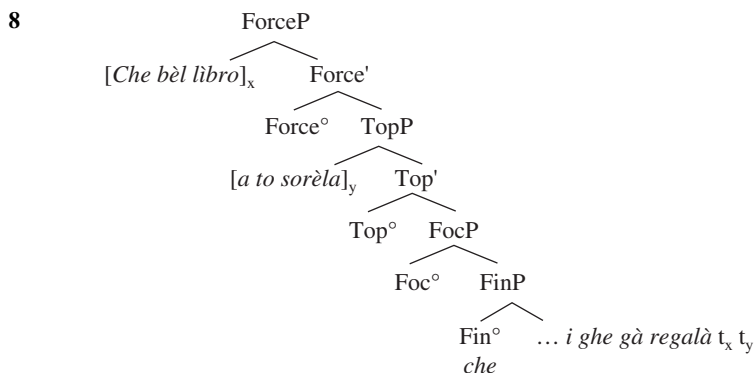
- 5 a A la tua surèla, *che liber* te vurarisset regalàk?
to the your sister what book scl.2sg. would-like give.inf.=to-her
'To your sister, what book would you like to give her as a present?'
- b La tua surèla, *a chi l' è* che l' an presentada?
the your sister to who scl is that her= they=have presented
'Your sister, who did they introduce her to?'
- 6 a *Che bel liber*, a la tua surèla, *che gh' àn* regalà!
what fine book to the your sister what to-her= they-have given
'What an interesting book they've given your sister as a present!'

- b *In che bèl post, el tò fyo, che te l' e mandà!*
 in what fine place the your son that scl.2sg. him= you-have sent
 'What a nice place you've sent your son to!'

Benincà interprets the contrast in (4) as evidence that the *wh*-phrase in an exclamative moves to a position structurally higher than SpecFocP, the one occupied in the corresponding interrogative sentence; (7) represents the canonical structure of a main interrogative clause, with the *wh*-item in the specifier of FocP and the finite verb raising up to the corresponding head, Focus, in accordance with Rizzi's (1991) Wh-Criterion:²



On the other hand, the landing site of *wh*-phrases in exclamatives is identified in Benincà (2001) as the specifier of ForceP:



² The left-dislocated constituent occupies the specifier of the higher projection TopP, the only one available, as the existence of the lower TopP of (1) is refuted in Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004).

The same analysis applies to other north-eastern Italian dialects such as Bellunese, at least with respect to complex *wh*-phrases consisting of the *wh*-determiners *che/quant* 'that/how much' followed by a nominal head; the constituent *al marcà* can appear either emarginated at the right periphery of the sentence or between the *wh*-phrase and the complementizer, but only marginally in initial position, that is, in a left-dislocated position preceding the *wh*-phrase:

- 9 a *Che / quanti libri che la à comprà al marcà!*
 what how-many books that scl.3sg.f.=has bought at-the market
 b *Che / quanti libri, al marcà, che la à comprà!*
 what how-many books at-the market that scl.3sg.f.= has bought
 c *?Al marcà, che / quanti libri che la à comprà!*
 at-the market what how-many books that scl.3sg.f.= has bought
 '(You should see) What/how many books she bought at the market!'

If we compare this pattern with the corresponding interrogative clause in which the complementizer does not appear and inversion between verb and subject clitic takes place, we observe that the constituent *al marcà* can appear either right- or left-dislocated, but cannot intervene between the *wh*-phrase and the inflected verb:

- 10 (Al marcà) *che/ quanti libri (*al marcà) avé-o comprà (,al*
 at-the market what/ how-many books at-the market have=2scl.2pl. bought at-the
 marcà)?
 market
 '(At the market,) what/how many books have you bought (, at the market)?'

In this case, the *wh*-phrase cannot be separated from the inflected verb, which can be interpreted as suggesting that in interrogatives the structural relation between the two elements is closer than in exclamatives.

3. Complex vs bare *wh*-phrases in *wh*-exclamatives

Unlike complex *wh*-phrases, bare *wh*-items cannot precede left-dislocated constituents in exclamatives, as shown by the following data from Paduan:

- 11 a *Quante robe, a to fradè, che ti ghe gà contà!*
 how-many things to your brother that scl.2sg. to-him= have told
 'How many things you told your brother!'
 b *??Cossa, a to fradè, che ti ghe gà contà!*
 what to your brother that scl.2sg. to-him= have told
 'The things you told your brother!'
 c *??Come, a to sorèa, che ti ghe rispondi!*
 how to your sister that scl.2sg. to-her= reply
 'The way you answer your sister!'

- d **Chi*, to fradèu, che el gà invità!
 who your brother that scl.3sg.m. has invited
 'The person your brother invited!'

As witnessed again by the data from Bellunese reported in (12) and (13), *wh*-exclamatives containing a bare *wh*-item are fully grammatical only if the *wh*-item is immediately followed by the complementizer *che*, as in (12a) and (13a); the examples in (12b) and (13b) show, as with *wh*-interrogatives, that a left-dislocated constituent cannot intervene between the *wh*-item and the complementizer:

- 12 a *Cossa che* te ghe à contà, a to fradèl!
 what that scl.2sg. to-him= have told to your brother
 b **Cossa*, a to fradèl, *che* te ghe à contà!
 what to your brother that scl.2sg. to-him= have told
 c ?A to fradèl, *coissa che* te ghe à contà!
 to your brother what that scl.2sg. to-him= have told
 'The things you told your brother!'
- 13 a *Andé che* l'è 'ndàt a comprarlo, sto libro!
 where that scl.3-is gone to buy.inf.=it this book
 b **Andé*, sto libro, *che* l'è 'ndàt a comprarlo!
 where this book that scl.3-is gone to buy.inf.=it
 c ?Sto libro, *andé che* l' è 'ndàt a comprarlo!
 this book where that scl.3= is gone to buy.inf.=it
 'In what a strange place he bought this book!'

Under the crucial assumption that the position targeted by the left-dislocated constituent is the same in all of these structures, namely, the higher TopP of (1) (cf. Benincà 2001), the impossibility for a constituent to intervene between the bare *wh*-phrase and *che* can be taken as evidence that the two elements are in a Spec-Head agreement configuration.

These data provide evidence, then, that within the split structure in (8) a projection lower than ForceP can be activated in exclamative contexts. The specifier position occupied by the bare *wh*-item must be lower than the one targeted by complex exclamative *wh*-phrases, which, as we have seen, can be separated from the complementizer by an intervening topic. On the other hand, the target position of bare *wh*-items could be taken to be higher than the one occupied by interrogative *wh*-phrases, which are obligatorily followed by the inflected verb.³ In the next section, it will be argued that bare *wh*-items in a main exclamative clause do indeed occupy the specifier of FocP.

³ The reader is referred to Munaro (2003) for a specific proposal.

4. *Wh*-exclamatives in Lombard dialects

As anticipated above, a feature distinguishing exclamative clauses from interrogative clauses is the (potential) overt realization of the complementizer *che*. However, the actual realization of the complementizer in *wh*-exclamatives is subject to variation both cross-linguistically and within the same dialect. In some Lombard dialects, the presence of *che* appears to depend on the internal shape of the *wh*-phrase: again, we find a clear distinction between bare *wh*-phrases (which are incompatible with the complementizer) and complex *wh*-phrases (which are compatible with the complementizer).⁴ As shown by the following examples from the southern Lombard dialects spoken in the area around Cremona, bare *wh*-items are never followed by the complementizer:

- 14 a *Cuza gh'è* *mia saltàt fora!*
 what to-them= is neg. jumped out
 'The things they discovered!'
- b *A chi l' àal* *dit!*
 to who it= he-has=scl.3sg. said
 'The people he told!'
- c *Cùma i* *gh' à rispòst!*
 how scl.3pl.= to-it= have answered
 'How they answered!'
- d *Indùa iè ndàt a stà* *de cà!*
 where are gone to stay.inf. from here
 'The place they've moved to!'

On the other hand, complex *wh*-phrases are compatible with the complementizer:

- 15 a *Che fàcia (che) te* *gh'èet!*
 what face that scl.2sg.= have=scl.2sg.
 'What a face you have!'
- b *Che bèl liber (che) el* *gh'à scrìvit!*
 what fine book that scl.3sg. has written
 'What an interesting book he has written!'
- 16 a *Quanti studèent (ch') i* *proa l'ezàm stevòolta!*
 how-many students that scl.3pl. try the-exam this-time
 'The number of students trying the exam this time!'

⁴ The Cremonese data reported in this section were collected and analysed by Tiziana Aroldi for her undergraduate thesis 'Proprietà sintattiche della frase esclamativa su costituente nel dialetto cremonese', defended at the University of Venice in March 2005.

- b *Quànti articoi (che) el ghà scrit!*
 how-many articles that scl.3sg. has written
 'The number of articles he has written!'

The same optionality in the realization of the complementizer with complex *wh*-phrases is attested in Western Lombard, as shown by the following examples from Milanese, taken again from Vai (2000):⁵

- 17 a *Che bèla cà (che) el s' è fa el Giorgio*
 what beautiful house that scl.3sg.m. self= is done the Giorgio
 'What a beautiful house George has built!'
- b *Che cunfyziùn (che) t' e fa!*
 what confusion that scl.2sg.= have done
 'How noisy you've been!'
- 18 a *Quantu lat (che) t' è cumprà!*
 how-much milk that scl.2sg.= have bought
 'The amount of milk you've bought!'
- b *Quanti pòm (che) t' è cumprà!*
 how-many apples that scl.2sg.= have bought
 'The number of apples you bought!'

⁵ A third class of *wh*-phrases, formed by the *wh*-item *che* modifying an adjectival predicate, requires the overt realization of the complementizer, both in Cremonese (cf. i.a–b) and in Milanese (cf. i.c):

- i a *Che spürch *(che) l' ò catàat!*
 what dirty that it= I-have found
 'How dirty I found it!'
- b *Che bèla *(che) la diventarà!*
 what beautiful that scl.3sg.f.=will-become
 'How beautiful she'll become!'
- c *Che bèl *(che) l' è diventà!*
 what beautiful that scl.3sg.= is become
 'How beautiful he's become!'

The same kind of structure is also attested in Colloquial Standard Italian in canonical exclamatives focusing on a predicative complement (typically adjectival) introduced by the *wh*-element *che*. Again, the presence of the complementizer is mandatory:

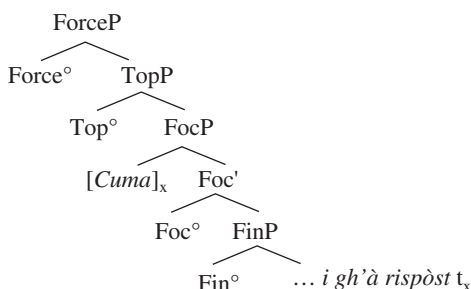
- ii a *Che interessante *(che) è questo articolo!*
 what interesting that is this article
 'How interesting this article is!'
- b *Che stanco *(che) è il tuo amico!*
 what tired that is the your friend
 'How tired your friend is!'

I shall not address here the question as to why the complementizer should be obligatorily realized in this case, leaving the issue for future research.

- c *Quanti liber (che) el Mario l' à cumprà!*
 how-many books that the Mario scl.3sg.= has bought
 'The number of books Mario has bought!'

The data from Lombard highlight a situation that is obscured in Veneto dialects, where the realization of the complementizer *che* proves compulsory in *wh*-exclamatives. The data presented here lead me to propose – slightly revising the proposal I put forth in Munaro (2003) – that in exclamatives bare *wh*-items target SpecFocP; the head remains phonetically empty as a result of a parametric condition filtering out the overt realization of both the specifier and the head of the same projection:⁶

19



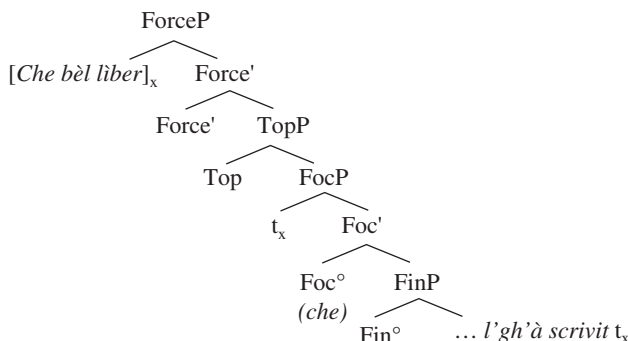
Under this analysis, the complementizer *che* appearing in exclamative sentences introduced by a complex *wh*-phrase can be analysed as the (optional) realization of the Focus head, activated through Spec-Head agreement by the *wh*-phrase, which, on its way to SpecForceP, passes through the intermediate landing site of SpecFocP:

⁶ For a recent formalization of this kind of restriction, see among others Giusti (2002), who claims that the complementary distribution between a lexical head in *Fmax* and an XP in Spec *FPmax* can be derived by the interaction of an assumption disallowing insertion of an overt element in a functional head if not necessary, and the following general *principle of economy of lexical insertion*:

- i A functional projection must be licensed at all levels of representation by:
- a making the specifier visible
 - b making the head visible.

As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, this option does not entail that similar configurations involving different functional projections are ruled out in these same dialects. Observe, as we shall see later, that this condition does not hold in Bellunese (cf. 12, 13). Moreover, in (14) the incompatibility of a bare *wh*-item and *che* cannot be due to the finite verb raising to the head of FocP (thereby ruling out the presence of *che*), as, at least in (14c) and (14d), there is no inversion of the inflected verb and the subject clitic pronoun.

20



That FocP can be activated and play a crucial role in the interpretation of *wh*-exclamatives has been independently proposed for other languages (the reader is referred to Gutiérrez-Rexach (2001) for Spanish, and Lipták (2005) for Hungarian).⁷

5. Some data from Standard Italian

Some facts concerning the left periphery of exclamatives in Standard Italian provide further arguments in support of the hypothesis put forth in the previous section. Firstly, whenever the *wh*-phrase is followed by a left-dislocated constituent, the complementizer *che* is preferably realized and follows any left-dislocated constituents, which shows that a lower head of the CP layer must somehow have been activated:⁸

⁷ See also Portner and Zanuttini (2000) on Paduan. Interesting cross-linguistic support for the idea that the Focus head can be lexicalized by the complementizer comes from recent work on Spanish exclamatives by Hernanz and Rigau (2006), who propose the analysis in (i. b) and (ii. b) for the exclamative examples in (i.a) and (ii.a), respectively:

- i a ¡Que lista que es!
that clever that he-is
'How clever he is!'
b [FocP ¡Que lista [Foc° que][FinP es...]]!
- ii a ¡Listo que es Juan!
clever that is Juan
b [FocP ¡Listo [Foc° que][FinP es Juan...]]!

Given a structure like the one in (20), we have to assume that copies or traces are not relevant in computing the filtering condition.

⁸ An anonymous reviewer points out that while (21a) and (22a) belong to northern Italian, (21b) and (22b) are the Standard Italian variants, and as such are fully grammatical. Notice that the complex

- 21 a *Che bel libro*, a Ugo, *che* gli hanno regalato!
 b ?*Che bel libro*, a Ugo, gli hanno regalato!
 c **Che bel libro che*, a Ugo, gli hanno regalato!
 what fine book that to Ugo that to-him= they-have given
 'What an interesting book they gave Ugo as a present!'
- 22 a *Con quante persone*, del tuo esame, *che* ne hanno parlato!
 b ?*Con quante persone*, del tuo esame, ne hanno parlato!
 c **Con quante persone che*, del tuo esame, ne hanno parlato!
 with how-many people that of-the your exam that of-it= they-have spoken
 'Just think how many people they spoke to about your exam!'

Secondly, as in the dialects discussed above, in both main and embedded exclamatives bare *wh*-items must follow left-dislocated constituents and prove incompatible with a complementizer:

- 23 a **Dove*, a Ugo, (*che*) gli ha spedito quelle lettere!
 b ?A Ugo, *dove* (**che*) gli ha spedito quelle lettere!
 to Ugo where to Ugo that to-him= he-has sent those letters
 '(Who knows) Where he sent those letters to Ugo!'
- 24 a **Cosa*, a Ugo, (*che*) gli hanno ordinato di fare!
 b ?A Ugo, *cosa* (**che*) gli hanno ordinato di fare!
 to Ugo what to Ugo that to-him= they-have ordered of do.inf.
 'The things they ordered Ugo to do!'
- 25 a **Sapessi dove*, a Ugo, (*che*) gli ha spedito quelle lettere!
 b *Sapessi*, a Ugo, *dove* (**che*) gli ha spedito quelle lettere!
 you-knew to Ugo where to Ugo that to-him= he-has sent those letters
 'If only you knew where he sent those letters to Ugo!'
- 26 a **Sapessi cosa*, a Ugo, (*che*) gli hanno ordinato di fare!
 b *Sapessi*, a Ugo, *cosa* (**che*) gli hanno ordinato di fare!
 you-knew to Ugo what to Ugo that to-him= they-have ordered of do.inf.
 'If only you knew what they ordered Ugo to do!'

wh-phrase can be preceded by a hanging topic, and in this case the complementizer becomes optional:

- i a Giorgio, *che libro interessante* (*che*) gli hanno regalato!
 Giorgio what book interesting that to-him= they-have given
 'George, what an interesting book they gave him as a present!'
- b Il tuo esame, *con quante persone* (*che*) ne hanno parlato!
 the your exam with how-many people that of-it= they-have spoken
 'Your exam, just think how many people they spoke to about it!'

Thirdly, and most importantly, exclamative *wh*-phrases are incompatible with a focalized constituent, irrespective of their relative order:

- 27 a * *Che libro interessante* A UGO (*che*) hanno regalato!
 b *A UGO *che libro interessante* (*che*) hanno regalato!
 to Ugo what book interesting to Ugo that they-have given
 'What an interesting book they gave TO UGO as a present!'

The co-occurrence is acceptable only if the sentence is interpreted as echoing an exclamative and the contrastively focalized constituent is being added by the interlocutor to correct the first utterance:⁹

- 28 A. *Che libro bello* (*che*) hanno regalato a Ugo!
 what book fine that they-have given to Ugo
 'What a fine book they gave Ugo as a present!'
 B. a No, *che libro bello* (*che*) hanno regalato A Gianni, non a Ugo!
 no what book fine that they-have given to Gianni not to Ugo
 b No, *che libro bello* A Gianni (**che*) hanno regalato, non a Ugo!
 no what book fine to Gianni that they-have given not to Ugo
 'No, what a fine book they gave GIANNI as a present, not Ugo!'

Maybe less surprisingly, the same incompatibility is attested with interrogative *wh*-items. Again, the co-occurrence is possible only if the sentence is interpreted as echoing an exclamative:

- 29 a * *Che libro interessante a chi* hanno regalato?/!
 b *A *chi che libro interessante* hanno regalato?/!
 to who what book interesting to who they-have given
 '[To whom] what an interesting book [to whom] have they / they have given as a present?/!'

⁹ Interestingly, the complementizer is not admitted in (28B.b), which provides a further argument for analysing the complementizer *che* as occupying the Focus head: adopting a constraint like the one discussed above, the presence of the focalized constituent in SpecFocP would block the overt realization of the corresponding head.

The incompatibility exemplified in (27) cannot be due to the fact that two focalized constituents are adjacent to each other, as the intervention of a left-dislocated constituent does not improve the grammaticality status:

- i a **Che libro interessante*, per il compleanno, A UGO (*che*) hanno regalato!
 what book interesting for the birthday to Ugo that they-have given
 b *A UGO, per il compleanno, *che libro interessante* (*che*) hanno regalato!
 to Ugo for the birthday what book interesting that they-have given
 'What an interesting book they gave UGO as a present for his birthday!'

- 30 A. *Che libro bello* hanno regalato a Ugo!
 what book fine they-have given to Ugo
 'What a fine book they gave Ugo as a present!'
- B. a *Che libro bello* hanno regalato A CHI?
 b *Che libro bello* A CHI hanno regalato?
 c ??A CHI *che libro bello* hanno regalato?
 to who what book fine to who they-have given to who
 'TO WHO did they give such a fine book as a present?'

On the whole, the data discussed in this section provide additional evidence in support of the hypothesis that the head position occupied by the complementizer *che* is Focus, thereby suggesting that SpecFocP is the (first) target of *wh*-phrases in exclamatives.

6. A Bartolian pattern?

The proposal put forth above also has some bearing on Rizzi's (2006) *criterial freezing* principle, according to which a phrase meeting a criterion is frozen in place; if the first target of (complex) *wh*-phrases is SpecFocP, whereby a *focal* criterion is satisfied, further raising to SpecForceP should be excluded (though a possible trigger could be easily identified in the necessity to check a *Force* feature). Moreover, the proposed analysis raises a further question concerning the possible extension to exclamatives of the *wh*-criterion formulated by Rizzi (1991) for *wh*-interrogatives. With respect to the overt activation of the Focus head in *wh*-structures, by looking at the data of the *ASIS* corpus for northern Italy, we can distinguish three main areas: the areal distribution attested is strongly reminiscent of the situation depicted by the 'law of marginal areas' formulated by Bartoli (1945), according to which peripheral areas witness a situation more conservative than the one found in the central area.¹⁰

6.1. Two peripheral areas

We can identify (at least) two peripheral areas, where a condition akin to the *wh*-criterion is active both in main *wh*-questions and in main *wh*-exclamatives:

A1) a very broad north-eastern Italian area, where subject-clitic inversion is still attested (and compulsory) in main (*wh*-)questions, and where the

¹⁰ On the possibility of treating northern Italy as a geolinguistic area, see Benincà (1995).

complementizer is obligatorily inserted in main *wh*-exclamatives. This area includes Friulian and Venetan dialects:

- 31** a Se an-o fat?
 what have=scl.3pl. done
 'What did they do?'
 (Palmanova, UD)

- b Se che tu as fat!
 what that scl.2sg. have done
 'The things you did!'
 (Palmanova, UD)

- 32** a Dulà va-tu?
 where go=scl.2sg.
 'Where are you going?'
 (Moimacco, UD)

- b Ce biel libri che tu m' as regalàt!
 what fine book that you me= you-have given
 'What a fine book you gave me!'
 (Moimacco, UD)

- 33** a A-tu fat che?
 have=scl.2sg. done what
 'What have you done?'
 (Belluno)

- b Cossa che te me conta!
 what that scl.2sg.= me= tell
 'What you tell me!'
 (Belluno)

- 34** a Chi a-i vedù?
 who have=scl.3pl. seen
 'Who did they see?'
 (Campitello, TN)

- b Che che te me dis!
 what that scl.2sg.= me= say
 'The things you tell me!'
 (Campitello, TN)

- 35** a Ndo 'l meti-to?
 where it= put=scl.2sg.
 'Where do you put it?'
 (Verona)

- b Che bel libro che te m' è regalà!
 what fine book that scl.2sg.= me= you-have given
 'What a fine book you gave me!'
 (Verona)

This area, however, extends to the eastern Lombard and northern Emilian dialects, as witnessed by the following examples:

- 36** a A-i vist chi?
have= scl.3pl. seen who
'Who did they see?'
(Malonno, BS)

- b Che bel liber che te m' è regalàt!
what fine book that scl.2sg.= me= have given
'What a fine book you gave me!'

(Malonno, BS)

- 37** a Andù è-l ch' al va?
where is=scl. that scl.3sg. goes
'Where is he going?'

(Bagnolo S. Vito, MN)

- b Che bel libar ch' a ta m' è regalà!
what fine book that scl.= scl.2sg.= me= have given
'What a fine book you gave me!'

(Bagnolo S. Vito, MN)

- 38** a Quand partisat?
when leave=scl.2sg.
'When are you leaving?'

(Bondeno, FE)

- b Che bel libar che t' m' à regalà!
what fine book that scl.2sg.= me= have given
'What a fine book you gave me!'

(Bondeno, FE)

A2) a north-western Italian area which can be subdivided into two further subareas:

A2a) The first subarea is relatively limited and includes western Piedmontese dialects, where subject clitic inversion is preserved in main interrogatives (cf. also Parry 2003):

- 39** a Chi mǎngg-lo si?
who eats=scl. here
'Who eats here?'

(Rueglio, TO)

- b Co ha-l di Marco?
what has=scl.3sg. said Marco
'What has Marco said?'

(Rueglio, TO)

- c Andoa it vas-to?
where scl.2sg. go=scl.2sg.
'Where are you going?'

(Turin)

- d Landa i deuv-le indé?
 where scl.1sg.= must=scl. go.inf.
 'Where must I go?'

(Mondovì, CN)

A2b) In the second, wider, subarea, the insertion of the complementizer is compulsory in most varieties in both main *wh*-interrogatives and main *wh*-exclamatives; this area includes most Piedmontese dialects:

- 40 a Cosa cha r' ha fait?
 what that scl.3sg.= has done
 'What has he done?'

(Poirino, TO)

- b Che bel libre che trà regalame!
 what fine book that scl.2sg.=have given=me
 'What a fine book you gave me!'

(Poirino, TO)

- 41 a An ti cat va?
 where that=scl.2sg. you-go
 'Where are you going?'

(Riva di Chieri, TO)

- b Che bel libre ca tra regalame!
 what fine book that scl.2sg.=have given=me
 'What a fine book you gave me!'

(Riva di Chieri, TO)

- 42 a Que ch' i foma adess?
 what that scl.1pl. do now
 'What shall we do now?'

(Livorno Ferraris, VC)

- b Che bel liber ch' at l' è regalami!
 what fine book that scl.2sg.= scl.= have given=me
 'What a fine book you gave me!'

(Livorno Ferraris, VC)

This area extends to include north-western Lombard dialects, as exemplified by (43–5):¹¹

¹¹ The pattern with inversion or complementizer in the interrogative and overt complementizer in the exclamative is also attested in some Emilian dialects:

- i a Che regas et vist?
 what boy have=scl.2sg. seen
 'Which boy did you see?'

(S. Polo d'Enza, RE)

- b Che beli scherpi che t' e comprè!
 what fine shoes that scl.2sg.= have bought
 'What beautiful shoes you bought!'

(S. Polo d'Enza, RE)

- 43 a Chi c' a porta el pan?
 who that scl= brings the bread
 'Who brings the bread?'
 (Brione, Canton Ticino)
- b Che bel libro che ti m' è regalà!
 what fine book that scl.2sg.= me= have given
 'What a fine book you gave me!'
 (Brione, Canton Ticino)
- 44 a In du ch' a t' è mangià?
 where that scl= scl.2sg.= have eaten
 'Where did you eat?'
 (Comano, Canton Ticino)
- b Che bell libru ch' a tu m' è regalà!
 what fine book that scl= scl.2sg.= me= have given
 'What an interesting book you gave me!'
 (Comano, Canton Ticino)
- 45 a Chel ca fiv adess?
 what-is-it that do=scl.2pl. now
 'What are you doing now?'
 (Albosaggia, SO)
- b Che bel libro ca te m' è regalà!
 what fine book that scl.2sg.= me= have given
 'What a fine book you gave me!'
 (Albosaggia, SO)

6.2. The central area

B) We then have a central area, where subject-clitic inversion does not obtain in main (*wh*-)questions and the complementizer is not (or not obligatorily) inserted in main *wh*-exclamatives or interrogatives. This area includes western, central and southern Lombard dialects, as exemplified in (46) and (47):

- ii a Indu c' a vet?
 where that scl. go=scl.2sg.
 'Where are you going?'
 (Forlì)
- b Che bel livar che t' a mè regalè!
 what fine book that scl.2sg.= you-have me given
 'What an interesting book you gave me!'
 (Forlì)

This might suggest that the area around southern Emilia could be viewed as a third peripheral area, which I will leave here as a mere speculation, awaiting further empirical substantiation.

- 46 a Induè l' è ndà?
 where scl.3sg. is gone
 'Where has he gone?'

(Milanese, taken from Vai 2000)

- b Quantu lat (che) t' e cumprà!
 how-much milk that scl.2sg.= have bought
 'How much milk you bought!'

(Milanese, taken from Vai 2000)

- 47 a Quant ta partisat?
 when scl.2sg.= leave
 'When are you leaving?'

(Vaprio d'Adda, BG)

- b Che bel liber ta met regalà!
 what fine book scl.2sg.= me=have=scl.2sg. given
 'What a fine book you gave me!'

(Vaprio d'Adda, BG)

This area extends to include Ligurian and some Emilian dialects, as witnessed by the following:

- 48 a Cos tem disçi!
 what scl.2sg.=me= says
 'The things you tell me!'

(Cairo Montenotte, SV; from Parry 2005)

- b Ma cum i' an risc-punduie!
 but how scl.3pl.= have replied
 'How they answered him!'

(Cairo Montenotte, SV; from Parry 2005)

- 49 a Chi l' è arrivou?
 who scl.= is arrived
 'Who arrived?'

(Casarza Ligure, GE)

- b Che belu libbru ti me dòu!
 what fine book scl.2sg.= me-have given
 'What a fine book you gave me!'

(Casarza Ligure, GE)

- 50 a Così fan?
 what they-do
 'What are they doing?'

(Arcola, SP)

- b Che belo libio te m' è arglà!
 what fine book scl.2sg.= me= have given
 'What a fine book you gave me!'

(Arcola, SP)

- 51 a Quand t' vè via?
 when scl.2sg.= go away
 'When are you leaving?'

(Cesena, FC)

- b Agh bel libar ta m' è regalà!
 what fine book scl.2sg. me= have given
 'What a fine book you gave me!'

(Cesena, FC)

6.3. A possible interpretation

The dialects belonging to groups A1–A2 seem to abide by a condition that dialects belonging to group B are not subject to. The present situation can be traced back to a condition affecting the actual activation of the Focus head in *wh*-structures in a given dialect (group) along the following lines. In the lateral areas A1–A2, a criterial condition akin to the Wh-Criterion is active in *wh*-structures.¹² Here, besides raising of the *wh*-item to SpecFocP and/or SpecForceP, the Focus head must be made visible, through two different strategies. In the first instance, it is made visible by Move, that is, by verb (projection?) movement to Focus, producing subject-clitic inversion (still attested in the external areas A1–A2a); in the second, it is made visible by Merge, namely, by insertion of a dummy element (the complementizer) in Focus, yielding the sequence *wh* + *che* (attested in area A2b). With the loss of (verb-movement, hence) subject-clitic inversion in main questions, the requirement on the visibility of Focus is solved, at least in area A2b, by merging the complementizer, namely, by extending to questions the (more economical) strategy already employed by *wh*-exclamatives. In the central area B, a third stage is witnessed, where Focus does not require overt activation, either by Merge or Move (though it can be activated in *wh*-exclamatives containing a complex *wh*-phrase as a result of *wh*-movement through its specifier).

The diachronic analysis sketched here supports the diachronic evolution suggested by Parry (2003) internally to Piedmontese. It is conceivable that the extension of the complementizer to main interrogatives may have taken place through the mediation of biased interrogatives, which, as pointed out by Poletto (2000) and Parry (2003), can employ the pattern *wh*+*complementizer*, and where the *wh*-item presumably raises to a higher specifier than in ordinary questions, as in exclamatives:¹³

¹² For a discussion of how (some version of) the Wh-Criterion may be maintained within a split CP perspective, see Poletto (2000).

¹³ Regarding the hypothesis that the *wh*-item raises to a higher projection in biased interrogatives, see Munaro and Obenauer (2002).

- 52 a Coss' che ti fa?!
 what that scl.2sg.= do
 'What on earth are you doing?!'
 (Ven.)

- b Se ch a l vedi fat?!
 what that scl= scl.3sg.= have done
 'What might he have done?!'

(S. Michele al Tagliamento, UD)

- 53 a Oh! Cosa ch' i disi mai?!
 oh what that scl.2sg.= say ever
 'Whatever are you saying?!'
 (nineteenth-century Pied., Parry 2003)

- b Cosa ch' a l' è sta scena?!
 what that scl= scl= is this scene
 'What's going on?!'

(nineteenth-century, Pied., Parry 2003)

On the other hand, the exact relation between the data discussed here and the overt realization of the complementizer in embedded interrogatives remains to be investigated, but the preliminary overview in Poletto and Vanelli (1995) reveals that the phenomenon is attested precisely in areas A1 (cf. 54) and A2 (cf. 55):

- 54 a Dime ce c al fas Giuan
 tell=me what that scl.3sg.m.= does Gianni
 'Tell me what John does'
 (Friul.)

- b No so cossa che go da fare
 not I-know what that I-have from do.inf.
 'I don't know what I have to do'

(Pad.)

- c No so chi che l' à parlà con la Maria
 not I-know who that scl= has spoken with the Maria
 'I don't know who spoke with Mary'

(Tren.)

- 55 a I sai nen anté che mama a l abia catà le fior
 scl.1sg.= know not where that mum scl= scl= has bought the flowers
 'I don't know where mum bought the flowers'
 (Livorno Ferraris, VC)

- b I m à domandà indova che ra Maria la sia ndada
 scl.3pl.= me= have asked where that the Maria scl.3sg.f. is gone
 'They asked me where Mary has gone'

(Montagnola, Canton Ticino)

- c Al so ca chi ca laverà i piac'
 scl.1sg.= I-know not who that will-wash the plates
 'I don't know who will wash the dishes'

(Albosaggia, SO)

7. Conclusion

The data from northern Italian dialects discussed here suggest that in exclamative clauses the *wh*-item may have as its first target SpecFocP, as is commonly assumed for interrogative clauses, as well as clauses containing a contrastively focalized constituent. The present analysis provides a more consistent picture of what types of focus constituent can be viewed as candidates for filling the specifier position of FocP:

- (a) intonationally driven *focus*, in clauses containing contrastively focalized constituents
- (b) morphologically driven focus, that is, *wh*-phrases, both in interrogative and in exclamative clauses.

Moreover, an initial geolinguistic overview of northern Italian dialects suggests that some structural aspects of *wh*-structures might reflect the diachronic weakening of a condition affecting the overt activation of the Focus head.¹⁴

¹⁴ Raising an issue pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, if we assume that ForceP is involved in the derivation of complex *wh*-exclamatives because it is needed to check an illocutionary force or a clause-typing feature, we must admit that bare *wh*-exclamatives involve a different type of illocutionary force or clause-type feature, hence their failure to raise to the specifier of ForceP.

17 The distribution of the complementizers /ka/ and /ku/ in the North Salentino dialect of Francavilla Fontana (Brindisi)

Paola Vecchio

1. Introduction

The principal aim of this chapter is to contribute to the understanding of the current system of complementation in Salentino and, in particular, the distribution of the two complementizers /ka/ and /ku/ by exploring data from the North Salentino dialect of Francavilla Fontana (BR).¹ In what follows, I maintain that, synchronically, /ku/ in Francavilla acts as a modal complementizer lexicalizing the Fin(iteness) head which, according to the complex articulation of the complementizer field proposed by Rizzi (1997),² is the head where modal specifications are made explicit. As we shall see, /ku/ proves to be incompatible with topicalized or focalized elements, in that activation of pragmatic strategies such as focalization and topicalization leads to the substitution of /ku/ with /ka/, inasmuch as /ka/ is the only legitimate complementizer that can occupy the higher Force position and signal the illocutionary force of the clause. Ledgeway (2003b; 2005) describes an analogous mechanism in the early dialects of southern Italy in terms of complementizer movement.³ In the modern varieties, Damonte (2006a) too has identified the (non-categorical) presence of such movement in the speech of the younger generations of several Central and South Salentino dialects. As we shall see, the data from the Francavilla dialect

¹ The data were gathered during a series of surveys conducted in 2005 among eight native speakers aged between twenty-five and seventy. The results, however, did not reveal any diagenational differences with regard to the syntactic phenomenon under investigation.

See Ribezzo ([1912] 1977) for a study of the phonetics and morphology of the Francavilla dialect, and Loporcaro (1997: 338–48) for a descriptive overview of the Salentino dialects.

² On the structure of the complementizer field, see also Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004).

³ Ledgeway (2005) is a slightly modified and enlarged version of Ledgeway (2003b). In the present chapter, I refer to Ledgeway (2005).

presented here contradict Ledgeway's (2005) claim that such complementizer movement is now normally absent in modern Salentino.⁴

The article is structured as follows: §2 presents the data in relation to the distribution of /ka/ and /ku/ in unmarked clauses in the Francavilla dialect. Sections 3 and 4 illustrate the syntactic restrictions on the distribution of /ku/. Section 5 describes the effects that activating the Topic–Focus fields have on the distribution of the two complementizers. Finally, before concluding, I briefly illustrate the deletion rule for /ku/ in complement clauses embedded under *volere* 'to want', in which main and embedded subjects are coreferential.

2. Distribution of /ka/ and /ku/ in unmarked contexts in the Francavilla dialect

The two complementizers /ka/ and /ku/ in the Francavilla dialect are distributed in accordance with the [±anaphoric] value of the tense of the verb they introduce (Calabrese 1993): /ka/ introduces clauses with a deictic tense, including the complements of epistemic (cf. 1a), declarative (cf. 1b) and psychological (cf. 1c) predicates, whereas /ku/ introduces clauses with a non-deictic (or anaphoric) tense, which can only be interpreted in relation to the tense of the main verb. Typically, verbs with an anaphoric tense are introduced by volitional predicates (cf. 2a), optatives (cf. 2b) or verba timendi (cf. 2c), or occur in final clauses (cf. 2d), temporal clauses of the 'before that' type (cf. 2e) and restrictive relatives (cf. 2f). In all of the following cases, the selection of the complementizer is obligatory: using /ku/ in place of /ka/ and vice versa results in ungrammaticality.

- 1 a Creu ca teni raggioni iddu
 I-believe that he-has reason he
 'I think he's right'
- b Ticunu ca spiccianu ti fatia' intra crai
 they-say that they-finish of work.inf. in tomorrow
 'They say that they'll finish working by tomorrow'
- c Mi sta ddispiaci c(a) ha (a) pparte' crai
 to-me = prog. it-displeases that you-have (to) leave.inf. tomorrow
 'I am sorry that you have to leave tomorrow'

⁴ See Ledgeway (2005: 374 n. 35): 'In the modern dialects of the Extreme South, by contrast, the subjunctive complementisers *mu* (*ma/mi*) and *cu* cannot move out of Fin°, the declarative illocutionary force of the clause being invariably checked and licensed by a null subordinator merged in Force° ... as witnessed by the fact that topicalised and focused phrases must invariably precede such complementisers.'

- 2 a Vogghiu cu jjeni cu mme ala chiesa
 I-want that you-come with me to-the church
 'I want you to come to church with me'
- b Sta speru cu jjene pure iddu
 prog. I-hope that he-comes also he
 'I hope that he'll come too'
- c Tegnu paura cu ppigghiu sola la corriera
 I-have fear that I-take alone the coach
 'I'm afraid of taking the coach by myself'
- d Vannu a Ttarantu cu ssi ccattunu li scarpi
 they-go to Taranto that selves= buy the shoes
 'They're going to Taranto to buy shoes'
- e Miettiti lu cappieddu prima cu jjessi ti casa
 put=yourself the hat before that you-exit of house
 'Put on your hat before you go out'
- f Sta ccercu na femmena cu mmi jjuta intra casa
 prog. I-search a woman that me= helps in house
 'I'm looking for a woman to help me around the house'

3. Syntactic restrictions imposed by /ku/

Synchronically, /ku/ is characterized by the syntactic restrictions summarized in Table 17.1 (cf. Ledgeway 1998: 23). The restrictions imposed on the relative order between embedded subject and verb (cf. i) and the ungrammaticality of deleting /ku/ in coordinate structures (cf. v) cannot exhaustively be reduced to the nature of the complementizer of /ku/. In fact, properties like these led Calabrese (1993: 79) to conclude that /ku/ 'has a special status in Salentino by being at the same time a complementizer and an inflectional morpheme'.

In what follows, we exemplify the co-occurrence restrictions listed in Table 17.1. Beginning with (i), we note that the subject of the verb embedded under /ku/ can only be placed to the right of the verb in the Francavilla dialect

Table 17.1 *Co-occurrence restrictions on /ka/ and /ku/*

		/ka/	/ku/
i	COMP + subject	+	–
ii	COMP + negation	+	+
iii	*WH- + COMP	+	+
iv	*COMP + COMP	+	+
v	COMP + Ø conjunction	+	–

(cf. 3a),⁵ whereas in clauses introduced by /ka/ the subject may also freely appear between the complementizer and the embedded verb (cf. 3b):

- 3 a Vogghiu (*Carlu) cu (*Ccarlu) vveni cu nnui Carlu
 I-want Carlu that Carlu comes with us Carlu
 'I want Carlo to come with us'
- b Creu ca (Carlu) veni cu nnui (Carlu)
 I-believe that Carlu comes with us Carlu
 'I believe that Carlo is coming with us'

Turning now to negation, this necessarily follows /ku/ and appears between the latter and the subordinate verb (cf. 4a), just as in the case of clauses introduced by /ka/ (cf. 4b):

- 4 a La mestra mi tissi (*no) cu nno pparlu cu ll'atri vagnuni
 the teacher me= told not that not I-speak with the-other boys
 'The teacher told me not to speak with the other boys'
- b Tisseru (*no) ca no eran(u) a pparte' cchiù
 they-said not that not they-had to leave.inf. more
 'They said that they no longer had to leave'

In relation to restrictions (iii) and (iv) in Table 17.1, we observe that neither /ku/ nor /ka/ is compatible with another *wh*-element (cf. 5a), nor can they co-occur in the same clause (cf. 5b):⁶

- 5 a *No ssacciu ce ccosa cu ffaci mo Carlu
 not I-know what thing that does now Carlu
 'I don't know what Carlo is doing'

⁵ In the dialect of Campi Salentina (LE) studied by Calabrese (1993: 35–6), in contrast, the subject can freely appear to the right (cf. i.a) or to the left (cf. i.b) of the complex /ku/ + verb:

- i a *Oyyu ku bbene lu Maryu krai*
 I-want that comes the Maryu tomorrow
- b *Oyyu lu Maryu ku bbene krai*
 I-want the Maryu that comes tomorrow
 'I want Mario to come tomorrow'

⁶ In one particular case, /ku/ can, however, co-occur with /ka/ when the latter introduces the standard of comparison, as in (i.a) and example (i.b) from the dialect of San Giorgio Jonico (TA) cited in Loporcaro (1997: 347; see also Ledgeway (1998: 30, ex. 53d) for a similar Calabrian example):

- i a No pozzu fa' atru ca cu mmi ni vo
 not I-can do.inf. other that that myself= from-here= I-go
 'I can't do anything else but leave'
- b No ppueti fa' otru ca cu vvotu facce e ccu mmi ne vo
 not I-could do.inf. other that that I-turn face and that myself= from-here= I-go
 'I couldn't do anything else but turn around and leave'

- b *No vvogghiu ca cu pparti crai
 not I-want that that you-leave tomorrow
 'I don't want you to leave tomorrow'

Finally, whereas /ka/ may be freely suppressed in the second conjunct of a coordinated subordinate clause (cf. 6a), the same does not hold of /ku/, which must always be repeated in coordination structures (cf. 6b):

- 6 a Anu tittu c(a) anu rriatu tardi e (ca) no anu
 they-have said that they-have arrived late and that not they-have
 cchiatu cchiù niente
 found more nothing
 'They said that they arrived late and that there was nothing left for them'
- b Tilli cu ssi manesciunu e *(ccu) vvennu amprima
 tell.imp.=them that selves= hurry and that they-come before
 'Tell them to get a move on and to come as quickly as possible'

4. Restrictions imposed by /ku/ on the morphology of the subordinate verb

It is well known that, unlike /ka/, /ku/ imposes restrictions on the morphology of the embedded verb. For instance, examples (7a–c) illustrate the constant use of the present indicative after /ku/ independently of the tense of the main verb:

- 7 a Carla voli cu vvai a ccasa soa Francu
 Carla wants that goes to house her Francu
- b Carla è vvulutu cu vvai a ccasa soa Francu
 Carla is wanted that goes to house her Francu
- c Carla voze cu vvai a ccasa soa Francu
 Carla wanted that goes to house her Francu
 'Carla wants/wanted Franco to go to her house'

Examples (8a–b) show, respectively, an imperfect indicative depending upon an imperfect indicative in the main clause, and a past perfect indicative depending upon another past perfect in the main clause. In these examples, the past tense verbs in both the main and dependent clauses do not indicate temporal specificity, but rather modal specificity in relation to the unreality or unrealizability of the event expressed by the subordinate verb:⁷

⁷ Calabrese refers to an analogous modal distinction in the pair of sentences (i.a–b), where the present and the perfect 'indicate whether or not the action expressed by the verb in the embedded clause is accomplished at the time of the action expressed by the verb in the matrix clause' (Calabrese 1993: 38):

- i a Ia ulutu la Maria cu ia sciuta ddai mprima
 I-had wanted the Maria that had gone there before
- b Ia ulutu la Maria cu bbae ddai mprima
 I-had wanted the Maria that goes there before

- 8 a Mama vulia cu mmi ccattava nu paru ti scarpi nuè
 mum wanted that myself= I-bought a pair of shoes new
 'Mum would like me to buy a new pair of shoes'
- b Mama era vulutu cu mm' era ccattatu nu paru ti scarpe nuè
 mum had wanted that myself= I-had bought a pair of shoes new
 'Mum would have liked me to buy a new pair of shoes'

Unlike central-southern Salentino varieties, the Francavilla dialect does not employ the subjunctive after /ku/.⁸ In the Francavilla dialect, the subjunctive is entirely residual and can only be found in optative clauses within set phrases such as (9):

- 9 a Cu tti vegna na saietta
 that you= come.subj. a lightening-bolt
 'May you be struck by a lightning bolt'
- b Cu ddiu no vvoghia ca...!
 that god not want.subj. that
 'God forbid that...!'
- c Cu tti sia mmalitettu quantu tieni!
 that you= be.subj. cursed what you-have
 'Curse you and all that you own!'

For speakers of the Francavilla dialect, the subjunctive after /ku/ is reported to typify the speech of Lecce and Brindisi, and is also considered typical of archaic variants of the Francavilla dialect. For example, in Girolamo Bax's pastoral farce, *Nniccu Furcedda*, written at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the Francavilla dialect, the subjunctive freely alternates with the indicative in clauses headed by /ku/. The examples in (10a–b) clearly demonstrate this, for the same verb occurs in almost identical contexts once in the subjunctive and once in the indicative:

- 10 a E a tte, vecchia, ti pari cosa picca cu vvegna...?
 and to you old-woman you= it-seems thing little that he-come.subj.
 'And you, old woman, do you think that it is not important for him to come?'
 (Jurlaro 1964: 5 vv.26–7)
- b Ti pari picca a tteni, cosa picca, cu vveni...?
 you= it-seems little to you thing little that he-comes.indic.
 'Do you think that it is not important, not important at all, for him to come?'
 (Jurlaro 1964: 3 vv.19–20)

⁸ Rohlfs (1969: 192 n. 3) discusses residual forms of the subjunctive after /ku/, and Rohlfs (1956: 174) cites examples from the dialects of Lecce, Squinzano, Giuliano, Vernole and Galatina. Calabrese (1993: 80 n. 2) maintains that after /ku/ 'Salentino speakers seem to interchange the subjunctive and the indicative freely'. Damonte (2006a) maintains that the subjunctive continues to characterize constructions introduced by /ku/ in the dialect of younger speakers from Lecce, Cutrofiano, Aradeo, Melpignano, Caprarica, San Cesario, Trepuzzi, Maglie, Parabita and Carmiano (see also Simone 2002: 446).

Nevertheless, in *Nniccu Furcedda* the indicative after /ku/ occurs significantly more frequently than the subjunctive: out of a total of 188 clauses headed by /ku/, 148 occur in the indicative, while 40 occur in the subjunctive. Our informants found these forty clauses entirely comprehensible (although one form, *coca* 'cook.3sg.subj.', presented difficulties for some informants), but were judged archaic. When the informants were asked to reformulate the examples, they automatically substituted the indicative for the subjunctive in thirty-four out of the forty cases. The six cases in which they left the subjunctive all involved fixed expressions of the type illustrated in (9).

Finally, a further difference in the distribution of the two complementizers, not listed in Table 17.1, concerns their relative compatibility with the modal periphrasis *avere a* 'to have to, must' + infinitive. While the latter periphrasis readily occurs in clauses embedded under /ka/ with both epistemic (cf. 11a–b) and deontic (cf. 11c) values, it is systematically excluded after the complementizer /ku/ (cf. 11d):⁹

- 11 a Penzu c(a) agghi(u) a ttine' la frè
 I-think that I-have to have.inf. the fever
 'I think I've got flu'
- b No ccreu c(a) ha (a) vvine' cu mmi saluta
 not I-believe that he-has to come.inf. that me= he-greets
 'I don't think he'll come and greet me'
- c L' era tittu ca m' era (a) ccatta' nu picca ti pane
 to-him= I-had said that me= he-had to buy.inf. a bit of bread
 'I told him he had to buy some bread'
- d L' era tittu cu mmi ccatta / *mm' era (a) ccatta' nu
 to-him= I-had said that me= he-buys me= he-had to buy.inf. a
 picca ti pane
 bit of bread
 'I had told him to buy some bread'

5. Effects of activating the Topic and Focus fields

On the basis of the examples reviewed so far, it would seem that the distribution of /ka/ and /ku/ in the Francavilla dialect can be entirely

⁹ The periphrasis, however, occurs after /ku/ in the dialect of Gallipoli (LE; cf. Rohlfs 1956: 37; 1969: 65):

- i a É mèju cu aggi amare
 it-is better that you-have.subj. love.inf.
 'It is better that you should love (someone)'
- b Num bòle cu aggia scire
 not he-wants that he-has.subj. go.inf.
 'He doesn't want to have to go'

explained, as Calabrese (1993) claims, by the different specification of the [\pm anaphoric] tense of the embedded verb. The syntax of clauses containing a topicalization or focalization, however, show that Ledgeway (2005) is right in deriving the complementizer selection as a syntactic effect of the design of the left periphery.

We begin by observing that in the Francavilla dialect, topicalization (cf. 12a) or focalization (cf. 12b) of an element can occur in postverbal position, which is the only admissible position for the subject in the Francavilla dialect in complement clauses headed by /ku/:

- 12 a Vogghiu (*Carlu) cu (*Ccarlu) vveni cu nnui, Carlu
 I-want Carlu that Carlu comes with us Carlu
 'I want Carlu to come with us'
- b Vogghiu (*FRANCU) cu (*FRANCU) mmi ccumpagna FRANCU a casa
 I-want Francu that Francu me= accompanies Francu to home
 'I want FRANCU to take me home'

In no case is the complementizer /ku/ compatible with a topicalized or focalized item in the left periphery of the clause. However, if the Topic–Focus system of the left periphery is activated, the complementizer /ku/ is systematically replaced by /ka/, which occurs to the left of the topicalized (cf. 13a) and focalized (cf. 13b) elements in the Force head:¹⁰

- 13 a Vogghiu (*Carlu,) ca Carlu, veni cu nnui
 I-want Carlu that Carlu comes with us
 'I want Carlu to come with us'
- b Vogghiu (*FRANCU) ca FRANCU mi ccumpagna a ccasa
 I-want Francu that Francu me= accompanies to home
 'I want FRANCU to take me home'

The same substitution mechanism is at work in all other types of clause headed by /ku/, including restrictive relative clauses (14a) and temporal clauses of the 'before that' type (cf. 14b):¹¹

¹⁰ This is not true for the dialect of Campi Salentina (LE), where /ku/ can co-occur with a topicalized element, as noted in Calabrese (1993: 81 n. 6).

¹¹ Similar evidence for the dialect of Taviano (LE) is given in Manzini and Savoia (2005, I: 656, 658) – witness the alternation between *cu* and *ca* in the following temporal clauses:

- i a essu prima cu bbeni tia
 I-exit before that come you
 b essu prima ca tia veni
 I-exit before that you come
 'I'm going out before you come'

- 14 a Sta ccercu na femmena ca / *cu VERAMENTE mi tai na mano
 prog. I-look a woman that / that truly me= gives a hand
 intra casa
 in house
 'I'm looking for a woman to REALLY help me around the house'
- b Prima ca / *cu mammeta si rraggia, teh, va pportali sta cosa
 before that / that mum=your self= gets-angry hold go take=her this thing
 'Before your mum gets angry, here you are, take her this'

The substitution of /ku/ with /ka/ implies that all of the restrictions that /ku/ imposes on the morphology of the following verb disappear. For instance, the embedded verb can appear in the *avere a* 'to have to' + infinitive periphrasis (cf. 15a–b) and can also occur in the past tense (cf. 15c):

- 15 a Vogghiu ca Carlu, ha (a) vvine' cu nnui
 I-want that Carlu has to come.inf. with us
 'I want Carlo to come with us'
- b Sta ccercu na femmena ca VERAMENTE m' ha
 prog. I-look a woman that truly me= has
 (a) dda' na mano intra casa
 to give.inf. a hand in house
 'I'm looking for a woman who REALLY will help me around the house'
- c Mama voze pi fforza ca pi llu matrimoni ti sorma,
 mum wanted for force that for the marriage of sister=my
 m' era (a) ccatta' nu paru ti scarpi nuè
 myself= I-had to buy.inf. a pair of shoes new
 'Mum insisted that for my sister's wedding, I should buy a new pair of shoes'

The substitution rule that obtains in the Francavilla dialect can be explained by referring to the movement rule proposed for Old Salentino in Ledgeway (2005), and which Damonte (2006a) also identifies in the speech of the younger generations of a number of central-southern Salentino varieties. Ledgeway (2005) proposes that the complementizer is generated in the lower C-related head Fin° , where it assumes the form /ka/ or /ku/ in accordance with the particular modal feature specification of the Fin head. When the Topic–Focus fields of the left periphery lie dormant, the complementizers remain in Fin° and the Force head is occupied by a null subordinator (cf. 16a). On the other hand, when the Topic–Focus system of the left periphery is activated, the complementizer, whether /ka/ or /ku/, raises to Force° (which in this case is empty, as in 16b–c), where it is spelled out at PF as *che* in Old Salentino (cf. 16b) and /ka/ in Modern Salentino (cf. 16c).

- 16 a [ForceP \emptyset [FinP ka/ku [IP V...]]]
- b [ForceP *che*_i [TopP/FocP Topic, Focus [FinP t_i [IP V...]]]]
- c [ForceP ka_i [TopP/FocP Topic, Focus [FinP t_i [IP V...]]]]

Further evidence for Ledgeway's (2005) movement hypothesis is provided by early examples, such as (17a–b), where the traces/copies left by the complementizer as it raises through the left periphery are overtly realized:¹²

- 17 a Et ancora li mandao a dire lo re **che** sili volia
 and again to-him= sent to say.inf. the king that if to-him= he-wanted
 obedire alli sua comandamenti, **ca** li perdonara omne cosa
 obey.inf. to-the his orders that to-him= he-would-forgive each thing
 'And again the king had word sent to him that, if he wished to obey his
orders, he would forgive him everything'

(*Sidrac* 2v.38–9)

- b Non credati vuy **che** cascuna creatura che nasce **che**
 not believe.imp. you that each child that is-born that
 deo IN QUILLO PUNTO comandi lu suo nascimento
 god in that point commands the its birth
 'Do not believe that, each child that is born, God AT THAT PRECISE MOMENT
 orders its birth'

(*Sidrac* 9v.16–17)

Nevertheless, since examples of overt traces of this kind are not found in the modern dialect of Francavilla Fontana, we conclude that the only fact that the complementizer substitution facts in (13)–(15) proves is the incompatibility of /ku/ with topicalized or focalized constituents: /ku/ occupies the lower position in the left periphery (i.e. Fin°), whereas /ka/ occupies the higher position (i.e. Force°), with the consequence that activation of the Topic–Focus fields triggers the selection of the higher complementizer.¹³

6. /ku/ deletion

The categorical application of the substitution rule in the modern dialect of Francavilla described in the preceding section must be paired with the categorical application of another rule that deletes /ku/ when it introduces a complement clause selected by *volere* 'to want' and matrix and embedded subjects are coreferential (cf. 18a). This deletion rule is purely phonological and not syntactic, as witnessed by the fact that an underlying /ku/ continues to trigger lengthening of the initial consonant (so-called *raddoppiamento (fono)sintattico*) of the following word (cf. *mmanciunu* in (18)), and the morphological restrictions on the embedded verb imposed by /ku/ discussed in §3 continue to apply (cf. 18b–c):

- 18 a Li vagnuni volunu mmanciunu li fogghi
 the children want they-eat the vegetables

¹² Examples (17a–b) are discussed in Ledgeway (2005: 380, 388).

¹³ This conclusion was pointed out by an anonymous reviewer.

- b Li vagnuni anu vulutu mmancianu li fogghi
 the children have wanted they-eat the vegetables
- c Li vagnunu erunu vulutu mmancianu li fogghi
 the children had wanted they-eat the vegetables
 'The children (had) want(ed) to eat the vegetables'

The obligatory deletion of /ku/ in examples in (18) seems to be a relatively recent rule in the Francavilla dialect. In the farce *Nniccu Furcedda*, deletion of /ku/ is not obligatory in cases of coreferentiality (cf. 19a–b) and is even possible in the absence of subject co-referentiality (cf. 19c):¹⁴

- 19 a Unu allu geniu mia vulia cu acchiu
 one to-the mind my I-wanted that I-find
 'I wanted to find somebody I like'
 (Jurilaro 1964: 21 v.390)
- b No' uè bbasci li mani?
 not you-want you-lower the hands
 'Don't you want to keep your hands still?'
 (Jurilaro 1964: 16 v.291)
- c Paulu sulu vogghiu bbei a 'stu 'rsulu
 Paulu only I-want drinks to this jug
 'I want only Paolo to drink from this jug'
 (Jurilaro 1964: 71 vv.1594–5)

7. Conclusion

In the Francavilla dialect /ku/ is a modal complementizer that introduces clauses characterized by the [-realis] feature. In this sense, one might effectively agree with Vincent (1997: 176) in saying that 'a difference in mood can be conveyed by the choice between [ku] and [ka]'. This modal distinction, however, is made explicit by /ku/ only when contiguity with the verb is not interrupted.¹⁵ In the case of clauses that contain a topicalized or focalized element, a substitution rule leads to the necessary substitution of /ku/ with /ka/, as the latter is the only complementizer in the Francavilla dialect that does not necessarily carry any modal specification and, therefore, may legitimately occupy the highest position in the left periphery.

¹⁴ In the dialect of Campi Salentina (LE), /ku/ deletion always proves optional with all main clause-selecting predicates, both with and without subject co-referentiality (Calabrese 1993: 81 n. 8).

¹⁵ The only elements that can come between /ku/ and the verb in the embedded clauses are clitic elements, namely the adverbial negator *non* 'not' and object pronouns.

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